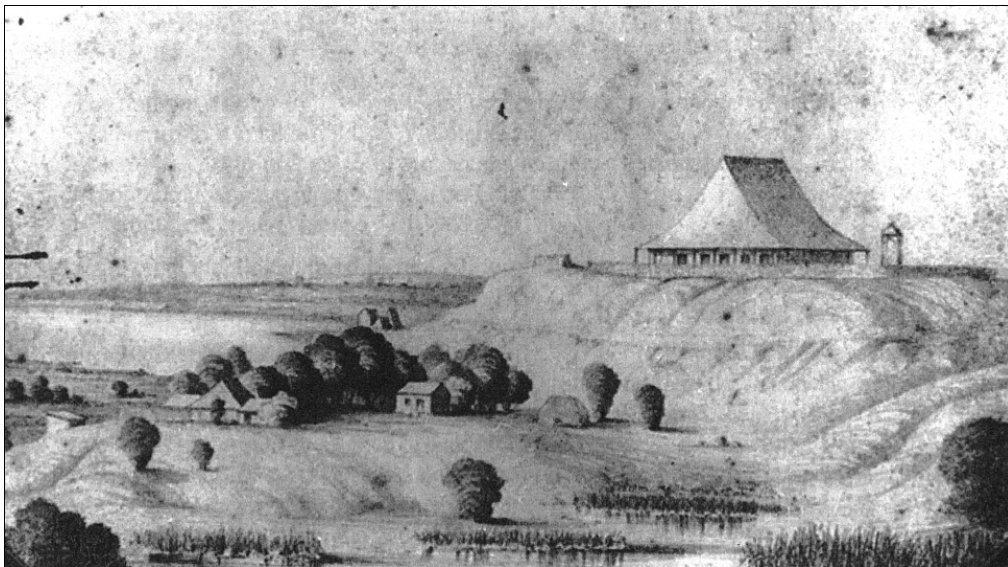


**STUDY TO IDENTIFY THE PRESENCE OF
PREVIOUSLY UNIDENTIFIED TRADITIONAL CULTURAL
PROPERTIES IN SECTIONS 1 – 3
FOR THE HONOLULU RAIL TRANSIT PROJECT**

Management Summary



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FINAL**

Cover image: 1851 sketch of Kahikuonālani Church on Haupu‘u in ‘Ewa by Paul Emmert in Mission House Museum Library, Honolulu; reprinted in Gowans (1993:10).

Executive Summary

This report presents preliminary findings on a Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP) study for Sections 1–3 of the Honolulu Rail Transit Project (the Project). The Project is a proposed rapid transit system intended to provide fast, reliable public transportation service between East Kapolei and Ala Moana Center. The Project is funded by the Federal Transit Administration (FTA), an agency of the US Department of Transportation. The City and County of Honolulu, Honolulu Authority for Rapid Transportation (HART) will carry out and oversee the construction, which is phased in four sections from Honouliuli to Ala Moana Center.

The purpose of this study is to collect information for, and provide guidance to, the FTA and HART, so that they can make informed decisions regarding whether there are any previously unidentified Traditional Cultural Properties found to be National Register eligible that might be affected by the Project. This report presents preliminary findings for Sections 1–3 of the Project and consists of two volumes: a Management Summary and a supporting technical document, *He Mo'olelo 'Āina—Traditions and Storied Places in the District of 'Ewa and Moanalua (in the District of Kona), Island of O'ahu: A Traditional Cultural Properties Study – Technical Report*.

Under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and its implementing regulations at 36 CFR §800, the FTA is responsible for taking into account the effects of the Project on any historic property that is listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) prior to the undertaking. The undertaking, in this case, is the expenditure of federal funds for the Project. Pursuant to 36 CFR §800.14, the FTA met its Section 106 obligations in January 2011 by entering into a Programmatic Agreement (PA) with consulting parties, including Native Hawaiian Organizations (NHOs), who have a legal interest in or a concern about the effects of the project on National Register eligible historic properties.

Under Stipulation II of the PA entitled, “Traditional Cultural Properties,” the FTA and HART committed to conducting a study to “... determine the presence of previously unidentified TCPs within the Area of Potential Effects.” The Area of Potential Effects (APE), as defined at 36 CFR § 800.16.(y) is “the geographic area or areas within which an undertaking may directly or indirectly cause alteration in the character or use of historic properties, if any such properties exist.” This TCP study addresses the identification and evaluation requirements of the PA. Additional consultation between HART and the consulting parties will be needed to complete the National Register evaluation process for the Project.

To conduct the TCP study, Parsons Brinkerhoff, Inc. (PB) contracted with the SRI Foundation, a historic preservation consulting firm in Rio Rancho, New Mexico, with national expertise in Section 106 compliance. The SRI Foundation hired Kumu Pono Associates LLC (Kumu Pono), a Hawaiian firm with expertise in Hawaiian language, history, and ethnography. SRI Foundation and Kumu Pono collected information through research and informant interviews to: a) determine whether previously unidentified places of religious and cultural significance might be in or near the Project's APE; and, b) if such places did exist, whether they might be National Register eligible.

TCPs are “places of religious and cultural significance” (NHPA Section 101 and NHPA regulations, Section 106). NHPA guidance (Parker and King 1990:1) defines a TCP as a property “... that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community’s history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community.” TCPs derive their importance from the practices or beliefs of a community because they are integral to the community’s history and identity. The people who are best able to identify these places and their importance are the members of the community that understand their value. Any place identified as a TCP is important to the people who understand its value; however, not all TCPs, are National Register eligible. The property must still be evaluated and found to meet the conditions for listing. This TCP study presents information that is needed for FTA and HART, in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Division (SHPD), to make these determinations.

Through research using primary sources in Hawaiian and English, and interviews with knowledgeable individuals within the traditional Native Hawaiian community, this study identified 384 place names spanning the Honouliuli-Moanalua region. One hundred and fifty-one (151) of the 384 place names were found to be in or near the Project area. Of this list of 151, 26 individually named places were identified as wahi pana (sacred and storied places). In addition, seven wahi pana were identified as belonging to a single sacred and storied place that extends from Hālawā and Moanalua to Honouliuli. Based on SRI Foundation’s analysis, all 27 wahi pana may meet the qualifications for listing to the National Register under one or more criteria. Ten named places (inoa ‘āina), while described to some extent in historical accounts, lacked an associated story (mo‘olelo) and these were not advanced for National Register evaluation at this time. With additional information, these places may be revisited pending consultation with the Native Hawaiian community.

SRI Foundation recommends that HART consult with the consulting parties to the Project PA, including the NHOs, to solicit their views on the significance of the places we identified in this report. With this input, FTA and HART, in consultation with the SHPD, can make final determinations of National Register eligibility for Sections 1–3 of the Honolulu Rail Transit Project.

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Glossary of Hawaiian Terms

ahupua‘a	Land division
‘āina	Land, earth
ahu	Altars
akua	God, spirit, supernatural
ala hele	trails
alanui aupuni	Government roads
ali‘i	Chief, chiefess
aloha	Love, mercy, compassion
aumākua	Family gods and guardians
auwai	Irrigation system, ditch
Hālau hula	Long house or meeting house for hula instruction
Hālau wa‘a	Long house or meeting house for canoe instruction
hānau	Birth; to give birth
heiau	Temple
‘ili	Land division
inoa ‘āina	Land or place name
iwi	Bones of the dead, burial
iwi kūpuna	Bones of the ancestors, burial
kahuna	Priest, expert
kama‘āina	Native born
kapu	Taboo, prohibition
kauhale	Group of houses comprising a Hawaiian home
kīhāpai	Cultivated areas
ko‘a	Fishing shrine
konohiki	Headman of a ahupua‘a under the chief
kuleana	Small piece of property, responsibility
kupuna	Grandparent (or of that generation), elder; plural: kūpuna
limu	A general name for all plants living under water, both fresh and salt
maka‘āinana	Commoner, people of the land
makahiki	A harvest festival dedicated to the god Lono, beginning about the middle of October and lasting about 4 months
makai	Toward the sea (direction)
māhele	To divide, apportion, to cut into parts; the land division of 1848
mālama ‘āina	Caring for the land and natural environment
mana	Supernatural or divine power
mauka	Toward the mountains (direction)
moku	Land division
mo‘olelo	Tradition, history, story, tale, myth, legend
mō‘ī	King, sovereign, ruler
‘ōpio	Youth, youngster, juvenile
‘ohana	Family, relative, kin group
pali	Cliff, precipice, steep slope
pōhaku	Stones
wahi pana	Sacred and storied place
wai	Water

“Alahula Pu‘uloa, he alahele no Ka‘ahupāhau.”
Everywhere in Pu‘uloa is the trail of Ka‘ahupāhau

(Said of a person who goes everywhere, looking, peering, seeing all...Ka‘ahupāhau is the shark goddess of Pu‘uloa (Pearl Harbor) who guarded people from being molested by sharks. She moved about, constantly watching.) (Pukui 1983:14 No. 105)

Introduction

The Honolulu Rail Transit Project (the Project) is a proposed rapid transit system intended to provide fast, reliable public transportation service between East Kapolei and Ala Moana Center. The Project consists of an elevated guideway that is approximately 20 miles long, with 21 stations and supporting facilities. The transit corridor includes most of the residential and employment areas on O‘ahu, much of which has been heavily impacted by development over time. The Project will be constructed in four phases, or sections. Shown in Figure 1 is each Project section (“area”). Construction will occur in phases starting in Section 1 where the train maintenance and storage facility is located.



Figure 1. Project Corridor, Showing the Four Section of Construction.

The Project is funded by the Federal Transit Administration (FTA), an agency of the US Department of Transportation and the City and County of Honolulu, HART. Under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and its implementing regulations at 36 CFR §800, the FTA is responsible for taking into account the effects of the Project on any historic property that is listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) prior to the undertaking. The undertaking, in this case, is the expenditure of federal funds for the Project. Pursuant to 36 CFR §800.14, the FTA met its Section 106 obligations in January 2011 by entering into a Programmatic Agreement (PA) with consulting parties, including Native Hawaiian Organizations (NHOs), who have a legal interest in or a concern about the effects of the Project on National Register eligible historic properties. Historic properties may include Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs), as further defined below.

Under Stipulation II of the PA entitled, “Traditional Cultural Properties,” the FTA and HART committed to conducting a study to “... determine the presence of previously unidentified TCPs within the Area of Potential Effects.” The Area of Potential Effects (APE), as defined at 36 CFR § 800.16. (y), is “the geographic area or areas within which an undertaking may directly or indirectly cause alteration in the character or use of historic properties, if any such properties exist.” Documentation regarding the APE, developed for the PA, is available at <http://www.honolulutransit.org/>.

Should previously unidentified TCPs be found in or near the Project area, under the terms of the PA, the FTA will determine their National Register eligibility in consultation with the NHO’s and other appropriate consulting parties. HART will then consult with the State Historic Preservation Division and seek concurrence on both National Register eligibility and whether or not any National Register eligible TCPs may be affected by the Project. If FTA or HART determines that the Project will result in adverse effects to any National Register eligible TCPs, HART will meet with the consulting parties to the PA to identify measures to avoid, minimize, or mitigate the effects of the Project.

The purpose of this study is to collect information and provide guidance to FTA and HART so that, in compliance with the Project PA, they can make informed decisions regarding the effects of the Project on any previously unidentified TCPs found to be National Register eligible that may be affected by the Project. As discussed further below, additional consultation between HART and the consulting parties will be needed to complete the National Register evaluation process.

The SRI Foundation, a historic preservation consulting firm in Rio Rancho, New Mexico, with national expertise in Section 106 compliance conducted the study. HART and the SRI Foundation met with members of the consulting parties to the PA, and concerned citizens in Honolulu on February 12, 2011 to review the Project and discuss what information needed to be gathered for a TCP study.

The SRI Foundation hired Kumu Pono Associates LLC (Kumu Pono), a Hawaiian firm with expertise in Hawaiian language, history, and ethnography. The research objective was to identify any previously unidentified TCPs that may be in or near the Project APE and evaluate their eligibility for listing in the National Register. A second meeting to discuss the Project with

the consulting parties was held in Honolulu on June 22, 2011. This meeting presented the research team and explained the goals and objectives of the TCP study.

This report presents preliminary findings for Sections 1–3 of the Project and consists of two volumes: this Management Summary and a supporting technical document, *He Mo'olelo 'Āina—Traditions and Storied Places in the District of 'Ewa and Moanalua (in the District of Kona), Island of O'ahu: A Traditional Cultural Properties Study – Technical Report* (the Technical Report) (Maly and Maly 2012).

Traditional Cultural Properties

“A traditional cultural property... can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community.” (Parker and King 1990:1)

With this statement, the National Register recognizes the existence of places that derive their importance from the practices or beliefs of a community because they are integral to the community's history and identity. These places may be culturally modified, as in something built or altered through use, or a part of the natural environment that people identify with, and assign value to, that is culturally unmodified. The people who are best able to identify these places and their importance are the members of the community that understand their value. The challenge to identifying TCPs is to collect objective information on a subjective phenomenon (King 2003).

Under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, federal agencies are required to take into account the effects of their actions on places that are listed in, or eligible for listing in, the National Register. National Register Bulletin 38, the National Register guidance on TCPs, explains that TCPs may be registered as historic properties and that places with these values must be included in planning for federal undertakings (Parker and King 1990). Federal agencies, or their contractors, are thus required under the Section 106 regulations to talk to NHOs, and other traditional communities, about TCPs.

In Section 101 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and in the Section 106 regulations, the places that Bulletin 38 refers to as TCPs are called “places of religious and cultural significance.” Places with these values are also included in the regulatory definition of a historic property at 36 CFR Part 800.16 (l)(1), which is any place that is listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register. This further links the concept of TCPs to the National Register and thus the Section 106 requirements. Note that throughout this study the term “TCP” is used to mean places of cultural and religious significance.

The task before SRI Foundation and Kumu Pono has been to collect information through research and informant interviews so that FTA and HART, in consultation with the SHPD, can: a) determine whether or not previously unidentified places of religious and cultural significance are in or near the Project's APE; and, b) if such places do exist, whether or not they are National

Register eligible. Three concepts are central to the National Register evaluation process: Establishing historical/cultural importance; linking historic importance to historic properties; and determining historic integrity.

Establishing Historical/Cultural Importance (Historic Contexts)

Establishing the importance of a historic property requires placing it in its historic context. To the National Register, historic context means “Those patterns, themes or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property or site is understood and its meaning within prehistory or history is made clear” (National Register of Historic Places 1991:7). It is the linkage between these patterns or trends and the historic properties that are associated with them that allow for an understanding of their importance in “American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering or culture.” Historic contexts are necessary in order to determine whether or not a historic property meets the criteria for National Register listing, as further discussed below.

Historic contexts are formally organized by theme, time, and space. They establish what historic properties represent, in terms of their cultural/historical importance, and define their temporal and spatial parameters. In short, historic contexts are intellectual frameworks; tools for organizing information to assist in recognizing places of historical importance. To be useful a historic context should connect a theme, time and place with relevant property types and their character defining features so that the value of individual properties can be recognized in contextual terms. Historic contexts can be, and often are, stand alone documents but they do not have to be; they can be developed to meet the needs of a particular project. Based on the preliminary findings further described below, five culturally appropriate contexts or thematic statements have been developed for this study to guide in the evaluation process.

Linking Historic Importance to Historic Properties (the National Register Criteria)

The National Register uses four criteria to establish the link between historic properties and what makes them important in contextual terms. The National Register criteria for evaluation are presented below.

“The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures or objects, that possess integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling and association, and;

- A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic

values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

- D. that have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important to history or prehistory” (36 CFR Part 60.4).

A historic property may be eligible for listing in the National Register under one or more of these criteria. Properties eligible under criteria A and B are important for their associative values. Properties eligible under criterion C are important for their intrinsic qualities or characteristics. Those properties eligible under criterion D are important for their informational value.

Many TCPs are found eligible under criteria A or B. This is because the National Register recognizes that events or patterns of events (criterion A) or persons (criterion B) can also be mythical/cosmological. Thus, for instance, places associated with the origin myths of traditional communities can be National Register eligible provided that there is a specific association between an important event or an important figure, such as an akua (god, spirit) and the place. Traditional communities often value places for a number of inter-related and overlapping reasons: they are sacred, they are associated with particular stories, they are places of important ritual/practice, they have therapeutic (healing/cleansing) qualities, etc. (King 2003:100).

One traditional value often ascribed to TCPs, their sacredness, requires specific reasoning in the National Register evaluation process. Under American constitutional law, which requires a separation between church and state, the National Register cannot recognize historic properties for their religious value per se. That is why the definition of TCPs emphasizes the historical importance of place. Religious association with a place can be critical to its importance under the National Register but only for the role it plays in a community’s history and identity. It may be difficult for traditional people, including Native Hawaiians, to distinguish between what is religious or spiritual and what is not; it is nonetheless how the value of sacred places must be assessed under the National Register.

The issue of spiritual value or sacredness as it applies to the National Register is relevant to the Project because the traditional Native Hawaiian view of the world does not separate the natural from the cultural or the physical from the spiritual (Maly 2001). Instead, the tangible and intangible aspects of life are viewed as one in the same and this perception conditions the Native Hawaiian view of ‘āina (the land) and wahi pana (sacred and storied places) associated with the land. The inter relationship between the akua (gods), the givers of life, the land, and the people, and all of the rights and responsibilities of the people to care for and protect the land, are bound in the Hawaiian sense of place and the naming of place (Herman 1999). Wahi pana are first and foremost places on the land; they are sacred or significant in the culture because of where they are not what is on them. The connection between traditional practices/beliefs and place is important to the Hawaiian people. In 1998 the state of Hawaii included a criterion “e” in the state’s equivalent of the National Register criteria used to evaluate historic properties under state law. In doing so, the state recognizes the values associated with TCPs as separate from, and in addition to, the four criteria under the National Register. While the Project is a federal undertaking, it will be subject to both federal and state evaluation criteria; therefore, it is worth quoting this criterion to illustrate the importance of TCPs to the people of Hawaii.

To be significant, a historic property shall ... meet one or more of the following criteria:

Criterion “e.” Have an important value to the native Hawaiian people or to another ethnic group of the state due to associations with cultural practices once carried out, or still carried out, at the property due to associations with traditional beliefs, events, or oral accounts – these associations being important to the group’s history and cultural identity. (HAR 13-284-6 (b)(5)).

In practice, the state of Hawaii has applied this definition very narrowly to burials, heiau and rare objects that exhibit physical evidence of their cultural origin; these are places that would also be recognized as archaeological sites or features (Monahan 2008). The federal definition of TCP is interpreted more broadly, however, to include places of cultural importance that are associated with practices or beliefs, such as wahi pana, whether or not tangible evidence of cultural origin is present (King 2003).

Despite the limited application of state criterion “e” since its adoption, wahi pana, as a class of Native Hawaiian cultural resources, have been recognized as National Register eligible historic properties since the 1970s when the National Historic Preservation Act was being implemented on the local level in Hawaii. The Hawai’i Historic Places Review Board (HHPRB) recommended that wahi pana, as celebrated or storied places of special importance in Hawaiian culture, may be nominated for listing to the National Register, regardless of whether there were physical remains present (Tuggle, personal communication 2011). The recognition by the HHPRB that wahi pana can be National Register eligible, despite physical condition or appearance, is germane to the issue of National Register integrity.

Determining Historical Integrity (Aspects of Integrity)

As referenced in the opening paragraph of the National Register criteria above, the concept of historical integrity is also important to the National Register evaluation process. The integrity of a historic property relates to whether or not the property can convey its significance, meaning that what makes it important is recognizable (National Register of Historic Places 1991).

The National Register recognizes seven aspects of integrity: Location, design, setting, material, workmanship, feeling, and association. Determining which of these is most important requires knowing, why, where and when the property is significant in contextual terms. For example, if part of what makes a National Register eligible building historically important is where it was built/occupied, then moving the building would compromise its integrity of location. If a bulldozer runs through an archaeological site the spatial relationship (location) among the site’s artifacts and features (materials) is disturbed. As a consequence, the integrity of location and materials is lost and the site loses its potential to inform upon the past. Lastly, if part of what makes a scenic road historically important as a National Register eligible property is the view shed along the road, then altering the view shed by adding things or subtracting them, may affect the road’s integrity of setting. If setting contributes to the road’s historical importance then loss of setting would lessen the historical value of the road. Defining the aspects of integrity for a

historic property is relevant to not only what makes the property historically important but in determining how it may be affected by a federal undertaking.

The concept of integrity is also applied to places of religious and cultural significance as part of evaluating National Register eligibility. As discussed in Bulletin 38, there is integrity of relationship and there is integrity of condition.

If the property is known or likely to be regarded by a traditional cultural group as important in the retention or transmittal of a belief, or the performance of a practice, the property can be taken to have an integral relationship with the belief of practice, or vice versa. (Parker and King 1990:10)

Again, to determine the integrity of relationship associated with a place requires talking to those people who ascribe value to it; in other words, to the traditional community. Integrity of condition relates to the physical state of a property/place and whether or not any changes to that state may be relevant to what makes the place important to a traditional community. If location, setting, design or materials are part of what makes a place of religious and cultural significance important to a traditional community, then if these aspects of integrity are diminished the property loses its integrity and is no longer eligible for listing to the National Register. However, as for the integrity of relationship, this assessment can only be made with input from the traditional community because these are the people who know about and value the place. As National Register Bulletin 38 points out, a property may still retain its traditional cultural significance even though it has been substantially modified. Thus, physical condition may be far less important to a traditional community than a place's relationship to and connection with their traditional beliefs or practices, despite its altered state. Integrity must then be determined based on whether or not the property has sufficient integrity of relationship and condition to convey what makes it important to the people who value it.

All three elements of the National Register evaluation process, historic context, the criteria for evaluation, and the aspects of integrity were applied in this TCP study.

Caveats

It is important to note that any place identified as a TCP is important to the people who understand its value. Not all TCPs, however, are National Register eligible and determining that a place is a TCP does not in and of itself mean that it is National Register eligible. The property must still be evaluated and found to meet the conditions for listing: the property must be found important in contextual terms and meet one or more of the National Register criteria; and, it must have enough integrity to convey what makes it important. The purpose of this TCP study is to collect the information that is needed for FTA and HART, in consultation with the SHPD, to make these determinations.

Methods

Development of this study included six basic tasks: (1) Research in primary Hawaiian and English language records covering traditions, history of residency and land use, surveys, and descriptions of historic development and changes in the landscape. (2) Develop a series of annotated historic maps to assist in the identification of named localities and wahi pana (sacred and storied places), which might be considered in identification of TCPs. (3) Conduct oral history interviews and consultation with kama‘āina (native residents) and others with knowledge of the land. (4) Conduct a spatial analysis and mapping of wahi pana. (5) Analyze the wahi pana according to National Register evaluation process. And, (6) prepare a report on the findings of the above tasks and recommendations to HART.

In the period between late May and September 2011, Kumu Pono conducted detailed research of archival-historical literature to identify named places in or near the Project area. “In or near the Project area” means within the Project area as defined, adjoining the immediate project corridor, or tied to the larger claims of Māhele applicants and awardees (see ethnographic and documentary resources below).

The oral historical/consultation component of this study was conducted between late August to early October 2011, and also includes selections from two detailed oral history interviews previously recorded with elder kama‘āina who have since passed away. A total of six recorded interviews and three informal interviews (where notes were taken during telephone conversations), with 16 participants are incorporated in the study.

The Technical Report (Maly and Maly 2012) provides the detailed findings of Kumu Pono’s research. These findings of the research are presented in five primary categories:

1. Nā Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian Traditions);
2. Huluhia Ke Au (The Changing Current): Historical Residency, Travel, Events in History and Land Use;
3. Ka ‘Ōuli o ka ‘Āina (The Nature and Signs of the Land): Land Tenure and Surveys;
4. Surveys and Proceedings of the Boundary Commission in the Years 1868 to 1926; and
5. He Mea Ho‘omana‘o (Recollections and Thoughts of Interview Participants).

Research incorporated in the study actually began in the 1970s, when Kepā Maly, the primary author for the Technical Report, began researching Hawaiian language resource materials and interviewing elder Hawaiian kama‘āina. From 1974 to 1978, Maly reviewed Hawaiian language newspapers, while working on projects for the City and County of Honolulu, and began making notes on various place-based references he located. Over the ensuing years, Maly and his wife,

Onaona Pomroy Maly, continued their research in primary Hawaiian language materials and conducted research projects around the state of Hawai‘i, as part of historic preservation programs with private landowners, state and federal agencies.

The narratives cited in the Technical Report are generally presented in chronological order, and by category or class of information – e.g. traditions, land use, land tenure, and interviewee recollections, etc. They are additionally ordered by citing the earliest period described. It should also be noted here that Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i (CSH) has been conducting archaeological and documentary research on the Honouliuli-Moanalua portions of the Project since at least 2008. As a result, a significant amount of research has been conducted and reported by CSH (cf. CSH 2008; Hammatt and Shideler 2009; Hammatt 2010). The research cited in this study represents additional primary source material, which for the most part was not previously reported, and which is organized in a place-based approach. While this study does not repeat all the narratives cited by CSH and others, the results of past research supplements this TCP study’s archival research and interviews.

Ethnographic and Documentary Resources

The archival-documentary resources cited in this study were found in local and national repositories, including, but not limited to:

- The State of Hawai‘i:
 - Archives
 - Bureau of Conveyances
 - Land Court
 - Survey Division
 - University of Hawai‘i Hamilton and Mo‘okini Libraries
- The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
- The Hawaiian Historical Society
- The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (Houghton Library, Harvard; digitized in the collection of Kumu Pono)
- The Mission Houses Museum & Library
- The United States Geological Survey Library (Denver, Colorado), and
- National Archives.

Ethnographic accounts

Ethnographic accounts included materials written by both Western observers—such as cartographers, missionaries, and anthropologists—and Native Hawaiian authors (for example,

Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel M. Kamakau). In addition to ethnographic materials, a rich and important primary documentary source was the Hawaiian language materials. These materials are primarily in the form of the newspaper articles, written for the explicit purpose of communicating cultural matters with other Hawaiians. The authors of many newspaper articles wrote specifically to document aspects of their culture and traditional knowledge that they feared would be lost otherwise. These were concerted efforts to preserve the Hawaiian's rich oral traditions and familiarity with their landscape.

Hawaiian language newspapers

Over one hundred Hawaiian language newspapers were in operation between 1834 and 1948. Hawaii in the 1800s was one of the most literate nations in the world—in their own language—with an estimated 90% of its population able to read and write [Kame‘eleihiwa 1996:xiv; Kimura 1983:189]. This literate population spanned all classes and backgrounds. Individuals from throughout 19th century Hawaiian society not only read, but contributed to published works. Kame‘eleihiwa (1996:xiv) reports that “epics were almost always front-page copy, while news and business items were tucked inside on page 2 or 3.”

The newspapers of the 19th and 20th centuries are a critical resource for identifying wahi pana and other place names. Examples detailed in the Technical Report, include—

- The Hawaiian people began sharing their grief at the loss of loved ones with others through newspapers and other publications. Their kanikau and uwē helu (lamentations, dirges and wailing), such as the kanikau of Aupuni (f.), describe the cultural attachment that people of old shared with their environment, and are significant sources of cultural knowledge. The mele (chant formed) laments are rich with information about wahi pana, named places, sites, resources, winds, rains, and traditional knowledge of the land. (see Maly and Maly 2012:54ff)
- The tradition of Kamapua‘a, which S.W. Kahiololo contributed to the native newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii* in 1861, is the earliest detailed account of Kamapua‘a. Kamapua‘a is a multiformed deity of traditional significance on O‘ahu, and all the major islands of the Hawaiian group. The Hawaiian deity Kamapua‘a, is a part of the Lono god-force, and possessed many body forms (kinolau), representing both human and various facets of nature. He was born in pig-form to Hina (mother) and Kahiki‘ula (father) was born at Kaluanui in the Ko‘olau loa District of O‘ahu. “He Mo‘olelo no Kamapua‘a”—excerpted and translated in this study—provides readers with details on places of traditional cultural significance in the ‘Ewa District. This is the first mo‘olelo to give traditions associated with the naming of, or traditional importance and uses of named localities from Honouliuli to Moanalua. (see Maly and Maly 2012:56ff)
- Between December 16, 1865 and March 10, 1866, S.M. Kauai contributed the tradition of Pīkoi-a-ka-‘alalā (Pīkoi-son-of-the-crow) to the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Kuokoa*. Pīkoi-a-ka-‘alalā was born to ‘Alalā and Koukou on the island of Kaua‘i. His family were kūpua (beings with supernatural powers and multiple body-forms). Pīkoi-a-ka-‘alalā possessed exceptional sight and excelled in the Hawaiian art of pana pua (shooting

with bow and arrow). Through the tradition of Pīkoi-a-ka-‘alalā, readers learn that many localities throughout the islands, including O‘ahu, are named for places where he competed in matches with archers, shooting ‘iole (rats) and birds from great distances. The tradition is set in the late 1500s when Keawe-nui-a-‘Umi, the king of Hawai‘i Island. (see Maly and Maly 2012:65ff)

- One of Samuel M. Kamakau’s submittals to the Hawaiian newspaper, *Kuokoa*, provides readers with details on wahi pana of the ‘Ewa District. In this account, Kamakau cites the tradition of Kana and corrects certain details that had been previously reported. Notably, there is recorded the names of certain chiefly and priestly ancestors who came from Kahiki, and who were the founders of lineages tied to various ahupua‘a in the ‘Ewa District. Kamakau also referenced the role of kōlea (golden plovers) at Moanalua and Kapapakōlea, and their recording the first census of the Hawaiian people. (see Maly and Maly 2012:72ff)

Land records

As part of its documentary research, Kumu Pono also reviewed the original land records for the land areas in each ahupua‘a crossed by the Project to identify place names that might be within the Project area. From these localities come the candidates for consideration as wahi pana that are presented in this report.

One set of land records investigated for this study were those of the Māhele ‘Āina. Research previously conducted as a part of the Project included a review of Māhele records for the ahupua‘a and smaller land divisions within the ahupua‘a, of Honouliuli, Hō‘ae‘ae, Waikele, Waipi‘o, Waiawa, Mānana, Waimano, Waiau, Waimalu, Kalauao, ‘Aiea and Hālawā (‘Ewa District), and Moanalua (Kona District). These earlier studies identify Land Commission Award (LCA) numbers and summarize types of land uses and practices recorded for the land areas crossed by the proposed rail alignment (cf. CSH 2008; Hammatt and Shideler 2009; Hammatt 2010). For this study, Kumu Pono reviewed the records of the “Buke Mahele” (Division Book) of 1848 (copy of 1864), Indices of Awards (1929), and original handwritten records of the Māhele. These handwritten records consist of original field notes and communications, volumes of the Register and Testimony, the Mahele Award Books, and Royal Patent Books. The original Māhele records yielded a rich collection of place names recorded for each ahupua‘a. The Technical Report’s Table 2 (Maly and Maly 2012:225-231) is a list of all place names identified in the claims listed by ahupua‘a.

The records of the Māhele list hundreds of personal names. These are family names for those who are recorded as being among the early residents of the lands from Honouliuli to Moanalua. Many of the named individuals are claimants for kuleana (property). The Māhele records also include names of witnesses who provided testimony on behalf of applicants (usually also applicants themselves). Table 3 of the Technical Report (Maly and Maly 2012:244-379) is a list of all the personal names of applicants for kuleana that Kumu Pono could clearly identify as residents in the ahupua‘a of interest.

The Māhele records not only inform on the land use practices of that time, they provide a rich resource of place names. It should be noted that, for the purposes of this study, several important types of information were lacking from the records. One example is the lack of references to ala pi'i uka (trails on which to ascend to the uplands) – the trails regularly traveled between the coast region, areas of habitation, and upland agricultural-resource collection sites. More relevant for this study, while Maly looked specifically for references of traditional ceremonial sites/religious features, he did not find any. This contrasts with the numerous descriptions of wahi pana found in other native traditions and historical accounts, as well as earlier reports for this project that CSH prepared (CSH 2008; Hammatt and Shideler 2009; Hammatt 2010). Since Reverend Bishop, the 'Ewa Mission Station overseer, was also one of the primary recorders of native claims for kuleana (private property rights), such references may have been purposefully left out at the time the Māhele records were made. The Technical Report provides much more information on the Māhele 'Āina and the research done for this study.

Table 4 of the Technical Report (Maly and Maly 2012:516-520) lists the 39 grants issued, beginning in 1846, that Kumu Pono's research identified as crossing or adjoining the Project area in the 'Ewa district. This grant information includes the names of the grantee, acreage, and primary place names covered by the grant. Some descriptions of land or resource uses and features are contained in this information.

Another important documentary source of the historical record incorporated into this study are the surveys compiled by the Kingdom Survey Division and Boundary Commission, which identify place names and features on the cultural landscape. The Technical Report provides a complete discussion of the results of its investigation of Boundary Commission records. The Records from the 'Ewa District were recorded between 1868 and 1904, and include testimonies of elder kama'āina who were either recipients of kuleana in the Māhele, holders of Royal Patent Land Grants in the ahupua'a, or who were direct descendants of the original fee-simple title holders. The Boundary Commission proceedings documented more than 200 traditional place names in the boundaries of the ahupua'a included in this study, with locations from the mountain peaks of Wai'anae and Ko'olau to the sea (see Table 5 in the Technical Report, Maly and Maly 2012:539-542).

Overview and Methodology of the Oral History Program

Oral history interviews are another important part of this study. The interviews help to demonstrate how certain knowledge is handed down through time, from generation to generation. Often, because the experiences conveyed are personal, the narratives are richer and more animated than those that may be typically found in reports that are purely academic or archival in nature. Through the process of conducting oral history interviews, things are learned that are at times overlooked in other forms of studies. Also, with the passing of time, knowledge and personal recollections undergo changes. Sometimes, that which was once important is forgotten, or assigned a lesser value. So today, when individuals—particularly those from outside the culture that originally assigned the cultural values to places, practices, and customs—evaluate things such as resources, cultural practices, and history, their importance is diminished. Thus, oral historical narratives provide both present and future generations with an opportunity

to understand the cultural attachment—relationship—shared between people and their natural and cultural environments.

The Hawaiian word kūpuna, may be translated as — kū (standing at) puna (the source of water); kū-puna are those who stand at the source of water. Now this has deeper meaning than standing at the water source. When duplicated, the Hawaiian word wai, is waiwai, and it means wealth. Thus the one who stands at the puna, stands at the source of wealth. In this case, the wealth isn't in material things, it is that our elders are those who stand at the source of knowledge. They stand at the well-spring gained by the years of their life, and from that which has been handed down to them from their own kupuna, and they in turn, pass their waiwai on to their 'ohā, keiki, mo'opuna, mo'opuna kuakāhi, kualua, and on down the generations, from piko (umbilical cord) to piko...

Pers. comm. M.K. Pukui, cited in Maly and Maly (2012:57)

Readers are asked to keep in mind that, while the oral history component of the study records a depth of cultural and historical knowledge, the documentation is incomplete. In the process of conducting oral history interviews, it is impossible to record all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. Thus, the records provide readers with only glimpses into the stories being told, and of the lives of the interview participants. Kumu Pono has made every effort to relay the recollections, thoughts, and recommendations of the people who shared their personal histories in this study accurately. The Technical Report provides a thorough discussion of the oral history component of this study and an analysis of the interviews.

The oral historical research conducted for this study was performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. In preparing to conduct the oral history interviews Maly and staff of SRI Foundation developed a general questionnaire outline to be used to help direct the oral

history interviews (Appendix A). While this questionnaire outline set the general direction of the interviews, it did not limit interviewees to those topics. Various aspects of the general and personal family histories and personal experiences that stood out as important to the interview participants were recorded as well. Also, during the interviews, several historic maps were referenced, and when appropriate, the approximate locations of sites discussed were marked on one or more of the maps.

TCP Mapping Methods

A component of this TCP study included the analysis of historic maps to develop information on the relationship of the Project's transit alignment and associated transit facilities to natural geographic features, traditional land uses, native tenant residency practices, and traditionally named localities. The maps utilized in this analysis primarily consisted of Registered Maps maintained by and publicly available from the Land Survey Division of the State of Hawaii Department of Accounting and General Services (DAGS). These late 19th and early 20th Century Registered Maps are official government survey maps created by professional land surveyors (both government and private). In addition to the Registered Maps, a privately-held survey map of a portion of the land holdings of Bernice Pauahi Bishop in Kalauao was provided for use in this study courtesy of Kamehameha Schools (a.k.a. Bishop Estate).

The proposed alignment and associated facilities data were overlain on the historic maps using ESRI's ArcGIS (version 9.3.1) Geographic Information System (GIS) software. Digital versions of the historic maps were imported into the GIS database and subsequently georeferenced. Georeferencing involves the establishment of the map's location and extent in terms of a pre-defined coordinate system. Each map was georeferenced to the North American Datum (NAD) 83 High Accuracy Reference Network (HARN) Hawaii State Plane Zone 3 coordinate system to conform to the supplied Project data. To georeference the maps, control points on the maps were linked to corresponding locations within data sets referenced to the established coordinate system. These control points typically consisted of survey triangulation stations or benchmarks, latitude/longitude grids, road/railroad intersections, and bridges. The residual error, a measure of the accuracy of georeferencing, was typically 6-40 feet for large scale maps (1:1,200 to 1:6,000 scale) and 20-80 feet for small scale maps (1:12,000 to 1:24,000 scale) used in this study. For comparison, the National Map Accuracy Standards for modern U.S. Geological Survey 1:24,000 scale topographic maps is 40 feet.

In addition to overlaying the Project data on historic maps, the locations of the Old Government Road, the primary East-West land transportation corridor across the southern coast of O'ahu in the mid to late 1800s, and prominent named localities were digitized from the historic maps. This aided in the historical research as many accounts were recorded while traversing the Old Government Road, with named localities described relative to the location of the road. The locations of named places believed to be wahi pana, that were not indicated on historic maps were approximated by using relative locations to known localities and prominent geographic features, as described in traditional/historic documentation. The digitized sections of the Old Government Road, named localities depicted on the historic maps, and approximate wahi pana locations were then used to make a composite map of the alignment of the Old Government road and prominent traditional localities across the entire Honouliuli to Moanalua region. In this manner, wahi pana were identified in relation to historic property records and the Old Government Road system and then plotted on maps of the Project area. The mapping visually portrays the location of wahi pana identified through archival research in relation to the Project area as defined.

Cultural Surveys Hawai'i Inc., coordinated with Kumu Pono in analyzing historic maps and then mapping the wahi pana. Both organizations assisted PB, HART's General Engineering Consultant, in preparing the maps attached as appendices to this report.

Hawaiian Perspectives on the Land

The Relationship between Hawaiians and the ‘Āina

One day I saw one interesting looking plant surrounded by California grass. So I started pulling the weeds around it; I started carrying water and I started carrying a weed whacker ... and an amazing thing happened. This plant turned into one tree. ... Okay, there’s a story here: I saw me. I saw that if I can move all this stuff away... and if you nurture this person, it will grow.

Interview with Shad Kane, August 26, 2011 (Maly and Maly 2012: 754-755)

The relationship between Hawaiians and the ‘āina (land/environment) is both simple and complex. The simplicity resides in the expression “aloha ‘āina,” love for one’s native land; it connotes caring for the land, which in turn cares for the people. The complexity lies in the fundamental and complete intertwining of physical and spiritual connections between Hawaiians and the ‘āina, which makes it impossible to separate culture from nature.

The notion of caring for the land acknowledges the relationship between the gods, nature, and people that exists through the identification of places where specific events, supernatural and natural, occurred. It is a shorthand for an elaborate system of resource management that extends from the mountains into the sea, and it is reflected in the maintenance of the hierarchical social system of the akua (gods), ali‘i (nobility and chiefs) kahuna (priests and experts) and maka‘āinana (people of the land, the common people). It acknowledges the spiritual relationship that directly links gods, land, and people through lineages, “the demigod status of ancestors,” and the physical manifestations of these supernatural beings on the landscape.

In the interviews conducted for this study, for example –

... God makes them [resources] available in the Ko‘olaus or the Wai‘anaes or at the top of Wai‘ale‘ale. He makes them available for you to take care of. You take care of it, you have many resources. Therefore, you have to put yourself aside and wait for these things to be given to you in time, at the correct time. And your job is to use them correctly, and honestly, and truthfully. And not waste them. (Interview with Roen Hufford, September 9, 2011, Maly and Maly 2012:790)

[I] remember growing up where everything was found from the ocean to the mountains, how you got your food. And most of our food came from the ocean, the fish from the ocean, and the ‘o‘opu. Our taro patch was up in the mountains. (Interview with Mary Serrao, August 29, 2011, Maly and Maly 2012:778)

The Hawaiian system of land divisions begins at the island level, with the moku (district) being the largest partition. Each moku is further divided into ahupua‘a, which extend from the mountains to the sea (mauka to makai) and cross the island’s varied resource zones. The ‘ili is an additional land division within the ahupua‘a, usually allocated to extended families (‘ohana). ‘Ili may also be discontinuous; the lele is a parcel of land belonging to one ‘ili but located within

a second. By transecting the islands ecological zones, the ahupua‘a contain virtually all of the resources necessary for the subsistence and other needs of the people. People within an ahupua‘a had gathering rights to all necessary resources, predicated on their responsibility to honor the gods, chiefs, and stewardship of the ‘āina.

The administrative hierarchy of traditional Hawaiian society mirrored that of the physical land divisions. The mō‘ī (supreme chief) maintained authority over the entire land and gave other ali‘i (nobles, chiefs) authority over the moku. These, then, authorized an ali‘i ‘ai ahupua‘a (chief who controlled given ahupua‘a) or konohiki (land agents, usually lesser chiefs) to administer the ahupua‘a lands. Finally, the konohiki allocated the ‘ili to the maka‘āinana. Authority over land and resources was considered a trusteeship rather than outright ownership of the land. This trusteeship was granted by the next higher level in the administrative hierarchy, with the mō‘ī’s authority coming from the gods.

Herman (1999:81) describes three different aspects of the Hawaiian’s relationship with their environment. The first is a Hawaiian “natural science,” wherein life commenced with a primordial slime that established the earth. From the earth, life-forms of increasing complexity were born.

The second aspect of the relationship is the close kinship relationship between the gods, land, and people. This kinship is literal and explicit. In Hawaiian traditions, the still-born first son of the gods Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani is identified with the kalo (taro) plant. Hāloa, the second son of Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani, became the progenitor of the Hawaiian people. He tended to his elder brother, the kalo, so that it flourished. The kalo, in turn, has sustained Hāloa and his descendants. The Hawaiian islands themselves share a kinship with the Hawaiian people, since the islands are the first born children of the same gods and of other creative forces that parented Hāloa.

Maly and Maly (2011:13) describe this relationship as follows:

‘Ohana is family, relative, kin; this word comes from the Hawaiian word ‘ohā, which describes the offspring of the kalo. The ‘ohā grow and are nurtured by the makua. The makua is the head of the stalk (kalo). The kūpuna, the grandparents and ancestors, are those who stand at the spring, literally the source of water, and are above. The keiki (offspring), and the mo‘opuna (grandchildren) are connected back to the spring or source of the family...

Pers. comm. M.K. Pukui, cited in Maly and Maly (2012:57)

Mo‘olelo (traditions) tell us that the sky, earth, ocean, wind, rain, natural phenomena, nature, animate and inanimate forms of life—all forms of the natural environment, from the skies and mountain peaks, to the valleys and plains, the winds and rains, the shoreline and ocean depths, were the embodiment of Hawaiian gods and deities.

In discussing the concept of pono, Kame‘eleihiwa, cited in Silva (2008:66), explains that the ‘āina is cast in the role of the older sibling, whose responsibility it is to feed, love, and protect their younger siblings, the Hawaiian people:

... it is the reciprocal duty of the elder siblings to hānai (feed) the younger ones, as well as to love and ho‘omalū (protect) them. ... it is the ‘Āina (land), the kalo (taro), and the Ali‘i Nui

who are to feed, clothe, and shelter their younger brothers and sisters, the Hawaiian people. ... Clearly, by this equation, it is the duty of Hawaiians to Mālama ‘Āina (care for the land), and as a result of this proper behavior, the ‘Āina will mālama Hawaiians. In Hawaiian, this perfect harmony is known as pono, which is often translated in English as “righteous,” but actually denotes a universe in perfect harmony. (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:25).

From the land comes the resources, nurtured by the water, and fed by our hard work. So if the land is not there to give us the growth, the ulu, then what have we got? (Interview with Roen Hufford, September 9, 2011, Maly and Maly 2012:789)

... out of the soil I can feed my family, and I can feed that artistic part of me that is just as important as the hunger in my belly. Totally important. And it gives me just as much satisfaction to be satisfied in my stomach as to be satisfied in my heart and my head. (Interview with Roen Hufford, September 9, 2011, Maly and Maly 2012:789-90)

You know, they [kūpuna] weren’t as mobile as we are, but they knew that if you didn’t value this resource that the wai flowed through, you wouldn’t be able to live here. You wouldn’t be able to grow your food. You wouldn’t be able to beat your kapa. You wouldn’t be able to raise you children. So they honored the gods who made this place by telling, and reminding us, “We know what our connection to you is, and this name is important for this place.” (Interview with Roen Kahalewai McDonald Hufford, September 9, 2011, Maly and Maly 2012:798)

The final aspect of the relationship between Hawaiians and the ‘āina is what Herman calls “a ‘spiritual ecology’ wherein energies flow across the boundary between the manifest and unmanifest worlds” (1999:81). What Herman is describing is more commonly termed mana (supernatural or divine power).

Mana is the name for a form of spiritual energy that exists in all things. It is the amount of mana that one has that, in part, distinguishes it in the natural and spiritual realms (cf. Dudley 1990). Thus, humans have more mana than plants – although less than the kalo (taro) plant, man’s elder brother. The amount of mana flows from the akua, to the ‘aumakua, to the ali‘i, to the maka‘āinana. Mana is also the result of a balance between gods, land, ancestors and humans (cf. Elbert 1957:268; Oliver 1989 [1961]:72), as cited in Marshall 2011:3). Tribute that the maka‘āinana paid to the ali‘i was payment to the gods, as well. In turn, the gods gave mana to the ‘āina and the people. It is also through the acquisition of mana that ancestors (kūpuna) can become demigods or spirits (‘aumakua), and can manifest in a physical form in nature.

Thus, deities (gods and demigods) manifest as natural phenomena – plants, weather, animals, and geological features. These transformations are further expressions of the seamless relationship between gods, nature, and people. They underscore the continuing interconnections between Hawaiians and the natural and supernatural worlds.

Wahi Pana (Sacred and Storied Places) and the Importance of Named Places

The story of our people lives in the place names.
Interview with Hinaleimoana Kalu, October 4, 2011
(Maly and Maly 2012: 801)

In *Place Names of Hawaii*, Pukui et al. (1974:x) say this about named places:

How many place names are there or were there in the Hawaiian Islands? Even a rough estimate is impossible: a hundred thousand? a million? Hawaiians named taro patches, rocks and trees that represented deities and ancestors, sites of houses and heiau (places of worship), canoe landings, fishing stations in the sea, resting places in the forest, and the tiniest spots where miraculous or interesting events are believed to have taken place.

Pukui et al. (1974:272) goes on to describe place names in stories and narratives. Wahi pana (sacred and storied places) are one of the ways by which to recognize and maintain the fundamental relationships between people, the ‘āina, and the akua. Wahi pana have significance beyond other named places because of the associations that they reveal between the people and the ‘āina. In the Forward to the revised edition of *Ancient Sites of O‘ahu* (James 2010), Kanahahele explains that, “the concept of wahi pana merges the importance of place with that of the spiritual.” The significance of wahi pana is sacred and, beyond the sacred—

... a place tells me who I am and who my extended family is. A place gives me my history, the history of my clan, and the history of my people. I am able to look at a place and tie in human events that affect me and my loved ones. A place gives me a feeling of stability and of belonging to my family, those living and dead. (Kanahahele 2010:ix)

[Marie McDonald, explaining why she did not grow up speaking Hawaiian] ... at the time, my parents, especially my Hawaiian parent, felt it was more important that I learn to converse in English. She would say to us, “Speak good English because that is the language of future communication. It is the language of your time.” ... I went to Kamehameha, which is a Hawaiian School, endowed by a Hawaiian Princess, and we were not instructed in Hawaiian. ... It was not offered. It was continuing this kind of thing that happened to all of our people, to teach your children English, because that’s where the power is.

Interview with Marie McDonald,
September 9, 2011 (Maly and Maly
2012:791)

The landscape itself tells the stories of the Hawaiian people and their relationships (with family, ancestors, ‘āina, and gods) through its features, resources, and place names. By learning place names and their traditions, even if only through the fragmented accounts that have survived to the present, one begins to see a rich cultural landscape unfold on the lands. Across these lands many place names have survived the passing of time. The occurrence of place names demonstrates the broad relationship of the natural landscape to the culture and practices of the Hawaiian people. In this sense, these points on the landscape can be viewed as mnemonics (Monahan 2008). Named places trigger memories and stories that guide proper behavior and reinforce cultural identity.

The rapid decline in the native population, the enforcement of restrictions placed upon Hawaiians in education and all facets of life, resulted in the loss of irretrievable traditional knowledge that culminated in the overthrow of the

Hawaiian Kingdom Government in 1893. By 1900, English was the official language of the schools and government and Native Hawaiian children were punished at school for speaking their ‘ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue/language). Slowly but steadily children and grandchildren were separated from their elders, and the passing on of mo‘olelo (traditions) of place, family and practice—traditional knowledge—was largely cut off (cf. J.W.H.I. Kihe 1924).

The combined losses of language, traditional practices, and land, coincided with changing demographics, the development of large plantations, sprawling communities, military complexes, and resorts. As a result, noted traditional places were steadily erased from the landscape, and access to sites where traditional and customary practices occurred was blocked. It became difficult, if not impossible for Hawaiians to pass on the experience of practice and familiarity with wahi pana.

Herman (1999, e.g., pp 88-89) identifies another factor in the loss of Hawaiian place names, including wahi pana – namely, that Western geographers failed to recognize the significance of place names and their associations and further failed to involve Native Hawaiians in seeking this information. Moreover, the Western emphasis on “uniformity, fixity, and certainty” meant that, not only were places without definitive locations overlooked, but Hawaiian names were disconnected from their cultural contexts and meanings. Coulter (1935:10) provided his reasoning for not including Hawaiian names in his *Gazetteer*, referencing “unimportant features identified by name,” and “trivial landmarks.” Coulter concluded that, “such names were thought not to be of enough importance to include in the work” (1935:10, cited in Herman 1999:89). As Herman points out, non-Hawaiians were ascribing importance to the Hawaiian landscape at the time that places and place names were being codified, primarily in English/foreign written documents. Lacking both the understanding and appreciation for the Hawaiian–‘āina relationship, Hawaiian place names, including many wahi pana, were overlooked and lost.

Pukui et al. (1974:272-273) provide some insight into the extent of what was lost. In 1966, with the first edition of *Place Names of Hawaii* (Pukui and Elbert 1966), was the first published source book of Hawaiian place names authored by Native Hawaiians. In explaining the importance of place names in narratives, Pukui et al. provide two examples. The first is a paragraph from a mo‘olelo, where a fish swims from O‘ahu to Hawai‘i seeking a wife for her brother, and the second comes from a publication by Kamakau [*Ke Au Okoa* June 10, 1869].

[This mo‘olelo names 17 unique named places in one short paragraph, of which] ... 4 (25 percent) are not listed in Coulter’s *Gazetteer* or the present Glossary ... and 7 of the names are not in the *Atlas of Hawaii Gazetteer*. This may give some idea of the number of places mentioned in the tales that are not recorded on maps. (Pukui et al. 1974:272-273)

Regarding Kamakau’s description of the beauties of Hāna, Maui [1961:385] of the 12 places named, only 5 are in the Glossary or in Coulter, and only 2 are in the *Atlas of Hawaii*—another example of the high percentage of names not listed on maps and probably destined soon to be forgotten, if not already so. (Pukui et al. 1974:273)

Moreover, Nāone (2008) notes that, in *‘Ōlelo No ‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings*, Pukui (1983) includes 2,942 ‘ōlelo no‘eau, of which 1,236 (42%) are entries on specific places.

Thus, Western map makers failed to note the locations or significance of wahi pana in the authorized gazetteers and atlases of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Moreover, traditional resource management had given way to private land ownership. With it, the rise of ranching plantations, and other land development, dramatically changed the traditional landscape. At this same time, Hawaiians were discouraged from using their native language, and barred from visiting wahi pana and other places that had been fundamental part of their relationship with the ‘āina.

Even with all that has been lost, however, research in Hawaiian language materials, historical literature, and in the knowledge of families descended from traditional residents of the land reveals a wealth of history through place names, and in some instances through on-going practices. Mele (chants) and mo‘olelo (traditions, historical narratives, stories) contain expressions of native beliefs, customs, practices, and history. Hawaiians have maintained mele and mo‘olelo over the centuries, and continue to create new ones. These oral traditions often express the interconnected relationship of akua, ‘āina, and people, and can relate hundreds of years of history. When they realized that these traditions were in danger of being forgotten and lost forever, Hawaiians recorded many of their oral traditions in the thousands of newspaper articles published between 1834 and 1948. Only a fraction of these articles, including those presented in this study, have been translated or published.

Moreover, Hawaiians recognize that, regardless of outward appearance to the contrary, wahi pana persist and continue to be important. While on O‘ahu for the TCP meeting in June 2012, Cushman and Graham (SRI Foundation) struck up a conversation with two individuals cultivating kalo and other foods near the Ulupō Heiau. This informal conversation about the place prompted one of the farmers to state that, “This place is not sacred because a heiau is here; the heiau is here because the place is sacred.” This sentiment reflects the traditional Hawaiian views as expressed through traditional mele and mo‘olelo, the nineteenth and twentieth century authors’ stories of place, lamentations, and writings of traditional practices and knowledge. It continues to be expressed by present-day Hawaiians.

Each place name was associated with a tradition—ranging from the presence and interactions of the gods with people, to documenting an event, or the characteristics of a given place. The very landscape is storied and facets of the land are held as sacred. As Pukui et al. (1966) illustrated, chants and stories contain an abundance of named places. Maintaining mele and mo‘olelo – through performance and publication in both Hawaiian and English – has meant maintaining a record of wahi pana, as well.

Kawaharada (2001:4) observes that, “Like ancient petroglyphs, these pre-contact oral traditions are recorded on the land itself—the mountains, rocks, and place names of O‘ahu speak them.” Through the place names in these oral traditions, countless wahi pana are found to exist.

Contexts/Themes

As previously discussed in Section II, historic contexts are tools that establish the thematic, temporal and spatial parameters needed to recognize places of historic importance. In following

the requirements of the National Register, we have developed a number of contexts, called themes, that are applicable to the National Register evaluation of named places found in or near the Project area.

It has been observed that “Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography” (Handy and Handy with Pukui 1972:412). Through place names, knowledge of the past and places of significance was handed down across countless generations.

Following are the contexts/themes chosen for this study:

- Places where the gods and demigods walked the land
- Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world
- Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history
- Places of traditional resource management
- Trails and boundary markers

Places Where the Gods and Demigods Walked the Land

I can say that I know the stories of Hiʻiaka, she travels through the area. And I am sure that there were particular sites that she pointed out.

Interview with Marie McDonald, September 9, 2011 (Maly and Maly 2012: 796)

Hawaiian gods and demigods are present in natural phenomena, the environment, and living beings, inanimate objects, and features on the landscape. By their names and stories, wahi pana identify places where gods and demigods walked the land, where they played a role in human experience, and where they continue to exist.

The relationship between gods, land, and people is intimate and direct for Hawaiians; they trace their ancestry back to the same parentage. This interconnection persisted as gods took on physical form and moved about the landscape to interact with humans and the ʻāina. They are part the natural environment – features on the landscape, animals, birds, and creatures of the oceans – and the natural elements, such as wind, rain, and sky.

Hawaiians maintained an extensive oral history through their mele and moʻolelo, which covered every aspect of Hawaiian life. Mele (chants) record thousands of years of history, aspects

KM: So, is it important to speak the names of places?

AE: Yes. That’s why I say Waikele, and Waipāhū is just that place. And Kaʻahupāhau used to go in that area. I remember that. Because we would go, my tūtū and I would go in that area, go and see. And you see her (Kaʻahupāhau) swimming around there.

Interview with Arline Eaton (AE), August 23, 2011 (Maly and Maly 2012:738)

of daily life, actions of deities, and the interactions of gods, ‘āina, and Hawaiians. Important chants and mo‘olelo were maintained by kūpuna and other knowledgeable individuals who served as stewards of the stories. They assessed the stories, corrected errors, and determined whether, and how, important stories would be perpetuated.

Mele served to unite Hawaiians in mind, body, and spirit, and with nature. They served to pay respect to the gods and nature, and to recount and remember genealogies, customs, and important events in Hawaiian history. Mo‘olelo are the traditions, or stories of the Hawaiians. These also recount the events and actions of gods and people, and their interactions with each other and with the ‘āina.

The art of storytelling was highly developed among Hawaiians. One important aspect of mele and mo‘olelo was their layered meaning. Depending on the knowledge and understanding of the listeners, chants and traditions might actually be telling more than a single story at a time, depending on the levels of kaona (hidden meaning) in the story. Thus, the word lehua could refer to a lover, the blossom of the lehua flower, or Hi‘iaka, Pele’s younger sister, whose sacred flower was the lehua (Hawaiian Encyclopedia.com, <http://www.hawaiianencyclopedia.com/hula-and-mele.asp>, accessed August 26, 2011).

As discussed elsewhere in this report, in addition to well-known references such as Malo (1951), Fornander (1916, 1918), and Thrum (1907), many of the accounts presented in this study come from Native Hawaiian accounts written in newspapers from the mid 19th and early 20th centuries. As noted for individual accounts in the Technical Report, some of the stories translated for this study duplicate previously published accounts, but some are new or provide additional detail.

For the purposes of this study, the geographic parameters of this historic context can be considered the Hawaiian Islands as a whole, but particularly the island of O‘ahu, and is directly applicable to the Project area within the Ewa and Kona Districts on O‘ahu. Hawaiian gods interacted across the islands, as told in many of the mele and mo‘olelo. The deification of ancestors, their rise to demi-god status, and their association to particular places, was a pan-Hawaiian Islands occurrence.

This historic context takes place in a mythical time that transcends the temporal limits as defined by Western thought and culture

Property types associated with this historic context include physical manifestations of gods, such as geological features; features on the landscape where gods participated in some activity, and resource collection areas, such as fishponds, agricultural fields, and salt beds, that are associated with a god.

Places of Ceremonial Importance, Tribute Sites, Places Associated with the Dead and Spirit World

The Hawaiians’ interdependent relationship with god and land relied in part on specific obligations that Hawaiians were required to meet in order to maintain balance and harmony. “...

The Hawaiian endeavors to bring nature into acting in a manner favorable to him. The Hawaiian knows he must extend himself for nature's benefit. He knows that it is his place to care for nature, not only by physical work, but also by spiritual activity. Nature, however, in turn has the obligation to respond—to provide for and to protect man.” (Dudley 1990:92-93)

The hierarchical social structure and the kapu system were essential in dictating the actions of any given individual in order to protect and support this balance. Dudley states, “Man was more than just an observer of the growth and fertility of nature. At every level of society in pre-Cook Hawai‘i, examples are found of observances which either limited man’s freedom of action or required him to put forth considerable effort in order to benefit nature” (1990:97).

Prayers and rituals, as well as physical labor, were ways by which maintain this relationship. Prayers, rituals, and offerings were conducted in the course of daily activities, at times incorporating improvised altars, or shrines. In some cases, specific places, such as heiau, were the site of spiritual activities.

Heiau were places of worship in which appropriate rituals were performed and offerings made. Often represented as rectangular platforms of stone, they typically contained wooden or grass structures enclosed by a wooden fence. Specific rules governed the construction, location, and configuration of the houses on the heiau, and depended on the site, the kind of house, the god being honored, and the ritual ceremonies that would be performed there. For example, luakini heiau housed ceremonies to ensure chiefs’ power were carried out in honor of Kū, the lapa‘au were places of traditional healing, and heiau were constructed to increase rainfall (heiau ma‘o) or food (heiau ho‘oulu ‘ai) in times of scarcity (James 2010). A heiau could be constructed within several days, used to fulfill a specific function, and then abandoned and never used again.

Kāhuna (priests, experts) were intermediaries between the people and the gods. Heiau were one of the primary places in which kāhuna functioned, although little is known about the actual rituals conducted at heiau. According to James (2010), heiau were already being abandoned at the time of Western contact (late 1700-early 1800s).

Shrines could range in size from a single rock (pōhaku) to a rock structure the size of a small heiau. The ko‘a (fishing) shrines were one of the most common and most important types of shrines. James (2010) describes ko‘a as consisting of one or more stones that might be naturally or artificially placed. They sometimes had a platform or enclosure, often containing bits of white branch coral, even when located some distance from the ocean.

‘Aumākua, or family, shrines consisted of either a single stone “idol” or a number of stones configured as an altar. This feature was an important part of every household. The shrines could be inside, or just outside of, the common living quarters.

During the makahiki, tribute sites would be established along the trails that encircled the island, near the boundaries of the ahupua‘a. Here, the people would leave gifts of goods and food for the gods, as represented by the chiefs. According to

The pōhaku, whether it was a tiny ‘ili‘ili (pebble) or a megalithic pali (cliff) boulder, was a very important part of a religion in ancient Hawai‘i. The features of the land spoke to the Native Hawaiians in a living, imaginative picture language and, therefore, the rocks and stones had names and being.

James (2010: 10)

James (2010), travelers might also leave offerings at these structures to petition for a safe journey.

Single pōhaku (stones) are a form of sacred site at which offerings were left and that cross several of the historic context boundaries. Such a stone might be one form of a specific god or demigod. It might be a boundary marker or a burial place, or the site where one could communicate most easily with an ancestor.

Another important ceremonial site included in this historic context is the burial site. The Native Hawaiian community has provided extensive information about its concerns for iwi kūpuna and ‘ilina over the course of the Project and in the meetings and interviews conducted as part of this study.

According to Kamakau, “in very ancient times” burials were in cemeteries, but this practice changed when chiefs started desecrating their enemies’ graves (Kamakau 1870). Subsequently, family burial places were kept secret, and the knowledge of these places handed down through the generations, so that no strangers had access to these places without explicit consent. He writes that, “These immovable barriers belonged to burial rights for all time. The rule of kings and chiefs and their land agents might change, but the burial rights of families survived on their lands” (1961:376). In describing the connection between Hawaiians and the land of their ancestors, Kamakau continues –

With this right of the common people to the land is connected an inherent love of the land of one’s birth inherited from one’s ancestors, so that men do not wander from place to place but remain on the land of their ancestors ... [however] today the habit of going away for an education or sailing abroad has undermined this old feeling for the land... (Kamakau 1961:376).

The remains of ruling chiefs and nobility were buried secretly, too, although the remains of kings also underwent deification rituals first.

After death, the spirits would leap from Leiolono and ‘Uluoleiowalu to the spirit world. ‘Aumākua (family gods and guardians) then led them safely across the land to be cared for in the spirit world. Those without ‘aumākua and guides, were left to cross the region and wander aimlessly upon the plains of the Kaupe‘a vicinity in the “ao kuewa” (realm of wandering spirits) on the arid coastal lands of Honouliuli (see additional discussion beginning on page 47).

Property types associated with this historic context include heiaus; shrines and alters, including pōhaku; graves, burial caves, and sites recognized as places where spirit dwell or visit.

Notable Events and Individuals in Hawaiian History

Archaeologists debate the origins of pre-Western contact Hawaiians, but there is general agreement that the first Hawaiian settlements from elsewhere in Polynesia. The following discussion is taken primarily from Kirch (1985, 2000). Initially they established maritime

settlements along the coastline. Arable land for agriculture was limited by the rugged volcanic mountains, the limited precipitation in some areas, and other harsh environmental factors, but eventually both agriculture and aquaculture became important components of the Hawaiian subsistence-settlement system.

During the early colonization period, Hawaiian society probably was based on chiefdoms, although with little hierarchical differences between them initially. Over time, Hawaiian culture developed the hierarchical socio-political and elaborate kapu systems recorded at the time of Western contact. Archaeologists attribute these changes in part to increased population, which required migration inland into previously unoccupied areas. This resulted in the development of inland agricultural systems and dispersed populations. The establishment of the ahupua'a land division system meant that territorial boundaries were more rigidly defined and less unclaimed land available for exploitation. As a result, warfare became an increasingly effective way for chiefs to maintain and expand their power. Class stratification and territorialism became rigid, and were intricately linked with the religious hierarchy. In the two centuries prior to European contact involved a series of battles between ruling chiefs attempting to expand their kingdoms, even beyond the limits of individual islands. By 1810, Kamehameha had unified the Hawaiian islands, ending the old political order.

In 1778, Captain James Cook first sighted the Hawaiian Islands, initiating 40 years of intermittent contact with European foreigners. The Islands were a convenient way station for ships, and became important stop for trading ships. Eventually, Europeans began settling on the Hawaiian Islands. It became fashionable for chiefs to employ foreigners, both as tradesmen and as foreign advisors. Europeans married into the native population, established business interests, and settled within the Hawaiian communities. European influences on material culture, socio-economics, and traditional beliefs had profound effects on the Native Hawaiian culture. The arrival of the missionaries to Hawaii led to proselytizing and ultimately the rise of a Christian Hawaiian community. The overthrow of the kapu system was another significant point at which traditional Hawaiian culture was undermined. Finally, as discussed elsewhere in this study, changes in land rights further disrupted the traditional way of life.

Hawaiian oral traditions and historic documents record places that are associated with important people or where a number of significant events in Hawaiian pre-recorded and recorded history. Property types associated with this historic context include battle fields and other site of conflict; birth and death places of important individuals; and structures associated with significant events.

Places of the Traditional Resource Management System

Throughout this study, we have noted that Hawaiian culture is rooted in the 'āina (land/environment). The concept of *mālama 'āina* – caring for the land and natural resources – was an essential part of Hawaiian culture, permeating their cosmology, and social and subsistence practices. With no distinction between nature and culture, the well-being of the Hawaiian environment and resources (land, sea, and air) was a practical, moral, and spiritual obligation for Hawaiians. This obligation was reciprocated – Hawaiians cared for the 'āina

(environment), and it cared for and sustained them. Supernatural beings, gods and demi-gods, also participated in this system, being forces of nature, plants, animals, and geological features.

Hawaiians developed an integrated system of resource management to use and conserve natural resources that created a self-sustaining structure. This system starts, practically speaking, at the level of the ahupua‘a, and continues to the smallest garden patch, fish pond, or stand of trees within the ahupua‘a. It was not limited to land parcels and resources, but extended through the social organization and the roles, rights, and obligations of people from the mō‘ī (high chiefs) to the ali‘i (nobles) to ‘ohana (extended families) and individual maka‘āinana. Gathering rights assured people of access to all necessary resources within the ahupua‘a. Resources were not limited to subsistence items, but also included the raw materials for tools, crafts, and ornamentation, such as bird feathers, canoe, weapons, clothing, and household goods. Lands were set aside whose resources were worked and harvested for the ali‘i.

This resource management system included set parameters of rules, prohibitions, and guidance from the deities for working agricultural lands and aquatic resources. The system required konohiki, land managers with an intimate knowledge of the land, to place restrictions (kapu) on aspects of the resource collection system. For example, with agricultural goods, these restrictions might involve limiting who might plant or harvest resources, or the location at which these resources could be planted or harvested. Others, such as priests of the papa huluhonua and kuhikuhi pu‘uone (priests who specialized in knowledge of the earth, its natural systems, and the placement of structures upon the land), ensured the physical and spiritual well-being of inhabitants of the ahupua‘a, and maintained balance and compatibility with the landscape (Maly 2001).

The ahupua‘a was probably the most important unit of land in the traditional Hawaiian land management system. Ahupua‘a are typically wedge-shaped land divisions extending from the tops of the mountain down to the coast, and beyond, into the coral reefs. Passing through the various ecological zones of the island, ahupua‘a were essentially self-contained ecological and economic production systems.

The ahupua‘a were divided into smaller land units, related in part to their function and resources. The kīhāpai – cultivated areas – for example distinguished between the lo‘i (irrigated terraces, or pond fields) and dry gardens (māla). Kō‘ele were agricultural parcels worked by commoners for the chiefs. This system included not only parcels of lands, but also areas of water (fresh, brackish, and ocean), with fish, seaweed (limu) and other resources on them.

Wai, (water), and the natural flow of fresh water is important to the Native Hawaiians, and is a part of the structure of the ahupua‘a and traditional resource management system. Wai falls as rain in the mountains as a gift from the gods (Paman 2010). It flows over waterfalls

Our staff of life is the ua, the water.
... We people live on an island surrounded by water. The ocean gives birth when the two meet. For you and I, it's water and air quality. With the ocean, people take the limu for granted in the ocean. Like every plant, it's a vegetable, so it's water quality. The ecosystem depends on that water quality. So what ever is happening on the 'āina is going to affect the ocean. ...
[Water] is our staff of life.

Interview with Henry Chang Wo and others, August 29, 2011 (Maly and Maly 2012:779-780)

and into kahawai (streams) and can be used for irrigation via auwai (traditional ditch systems) to grow crops, such as taro and sweet potato. Water links the mountains to the sea in each Ahupua‘a and is an integral part of the land tenure system.

‘Ohana (extended families) of maka‘āinana (people of the land, commoners) were given rights/trusteeship to resource parcels. Through relationships that spanned the ahupua‘a, extended families had access to most of the resources that they needed to sustain themselves. Gathering rights supplemented this system, thereby ensuring that people had access to essentially all of the natural resources available in their ahupua‘a (Maly 2001; cf. Kamakau 1961, Boundary Commission Testimonies 1873-1890, and Handy and Handy with Pukui 1972). Ahupua‘a resources also supported the royal community of the region. For example, kō‘ele were agricultural lands that maka‘āinana worked for the chiefs.

Table 1 summarizes information presented in the section on the Summary of Land Use/Residency Practices in the Technical Report (Maly and Maly 2012:204-221), compiled from the Māhele records for the lands from Honouliuli to Moanalua. As noted in that report, the picture of subsistence practices and work that this table summarizes may be incomplete because of the limitations of the Māhele documents. Nevertheless, Table 1 demonstrates a minimum of the types of uses and activities supported by the ahupua‘a. It provides some insight into the extent to which subsistence resources were available within a given ahupua‘a.

Konohiki or lesser chief-landlords, appointed by an ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a (chief who controlled the ahupua‘a resources), had jurisdiction over entire ahupua‘a, or portions of them. The ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a answered to an ali‘i ‘ai moku (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district) (Maly 2001). Konohiki had an intimate knowledge of the environment as well as the ability to coordinated communal labor within the ahupua‘a. The konohiki and priests regulated land, water, and ocean use in the ahupua‘a through the kapu (taboo, prohibition) system. They would place restrictions on collecting specific resources at certain times of the year or limit who could participate in the resource collection. The Hawaiian traditional resource management system integrated the various resources throughout the ahupua‘a along with the social classes who cultivated and used them.

Table 1. Uses and Activities Recorded in the Māhele Documents.

The X indicates that Māhele documents include this use or feature. (Information extracted from Maly and Maly 2012:204-221)

Testimony on uses and features	Ahupua‘a													
	Honouliuli	Pu‘uloa*	Hō‘ae‘ae	Waikēle	Waipi‘o	Waiawa	Mānana	Waimano	Waiau	Waimalu	Kalauao	‘Aiea	Hālawā	Moanalua
Ala, ala hele, ala nui (trails and government roads)	X			X	X	X	X			X	X			X
Hale, kahuahale, pā hale (houses and house lots)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
‘Iliahi (sandal wood) harvested from mountains											X			

Testimony on uses and features	Ahupua'a													
	Honouliuli	Pu'uloa*	Hō'ae'ae	Waikele	Waip'o	Waiawa	Mānana	Waimano	Waiau	Waimalu	Kalauao	'Aiea	Hālawā	Moanalua
Kahawai, 'auwai and muliwai (River-stream flow, irrigation channels and estuaries) supported agricultural practices	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kai (fishery resources) harvested		X									X	X		
Kō'ele (agricultural fields) lands dedicated cultivation of crops for the king or chiefs	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Kula (dryland parcels) used for diversified agriculture	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kula (pasture lands) for grazing introduced ungulates	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Lo'i kalo (taro pond fields)	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Loko, loko i'a (fishponds) made and maintained to supply fish to chiefs and tenants	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pā, pā 'āina (fences and walls) used to enclose land parcels and determine boundaries	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pā pua'a (pig enclosures)														X
Pa'ahao (agricultural parcels) land worked/cultivated by prisoners as public service								X	X		X			X
Pa'akai (salt) processed and harvested	X	X		X						X				X
Pili grass gathered for thatching	X													
Pō'alima (Friday agricultural parcels) lands dedicated cultivation of crops for the chiefs/konohiki	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

*In traditional times, the land area known as Pu'uloa was an 'ili of Honouliuli, it was sold as a separate land during the time of the Māhele. Though it is included, and listed separately here, Pu'uloa is not an ahupua'a.

In practical terms, the [common people] fed and clothed the [ruling chiefs], who provided the organization required to produce enough food to sustain an ever-increasing population. Should a [commoner] fail to cultivate or [care for] his portion of [land], that was grounds for dismissal. By the same token, should a [ruling chief] fail in proper direction of the [common people], he too would be dismissed—for his own failure to mālama. ... Hence, to Mālama 'Āina was by extension to care for [the common people] and the [ruling chiefs], for in the Hawaiian metaphor, these three components [land, ruling chiefs, and common people] are mystically one and the same. (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:32, cited in Marshall 2011:5)

Maly (2001) notes that the boundaries of the ahupua‘a were generally defined by cycles and patterns of natural resources that extended from the mountains, to the ocean fisheries. Boundaries usually were marked by ahu (altars) with images of a pig, carved of kukui wood, placed upon them. Tribute of food and other goods were placed on the altars during the annual makahiki celebrations. The ahu would be built or rebuilt along the ahupua‘a boundary near the trail. The konohiki or kahuna (priest) responsible for collecting tribute would then collect the tribute. This tribute was then distributed to the chiefs, from the konohiki to the ali‘i nui.

This traditional resource management system was not exclusively a relationship between the Hawaiians and the ‘āina, however. The gods also played a role in caring for, and being cared for by, the people and the land. For example, canoe-carving kahuna depended on the ‘elepaio bird to identify which trees could be used for making canoes. ‘Elepaio are believed to be a form of the canoe goddess, Lea, and therefore would, through its behavior, identify the trees that were healthy and suitable for making a canoe. Canoe-caving kahuna could observe these behaviors, and after conducting the appropriate prayers, offerings, and other ritual, cut down the tree and make the canoe (cf. Dudley 1990; Paman 2010).

The traditional Hawaiian resource management system was well established by the 1600s (e.g., Kirsch 2000; Maly and Maly 2011). The Māhele and other land divisions led to the privatization of lands and the end of the traditional resource management system by 1855. Nevertheless, the ahupua‘a is still a major land division that is used today. Fish ponds and kalo fields are still in use today, and traditional knowledge and practices are still employed in conducting subsistence activities (e.g., McGregor et al. 2003). Moreover, in 2006 and 2007, a variety of organizations sponsored a series of conferences for Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners to consider how to involve the Native Hawaiian community in natural resource management. In 2007 the ‘Ahi Kiole Advisory Committee was created by the Hawaii Legislature as part of its Act 212 to gather information and provide the State with recommendations for best practices and a structure for the cultural management of natural resources in Hawaii (e.g., ‘Aha Kiole Advisory Committee 2010). While there are many reasons why a contemporary system of natural resource management cannot replicate the traditional resource management system, the ‘Aha Kiole Advisory Committee advocates adopting best practices from that system and adapting them to current conditions.

Table 1 provides a starting place for identifying properties associated with this historic context. Properties that would be expected under this theme include places of resource acquisition, management, and processing—including agricultural lands, fish ponds, salt manufacturing sites, kapa making facilities, irrigation systems or features, and springs. Boundary markers and tribute altars, while associated with the resource management system, are included in other historic contexts for the purposes of this study.

Property types associated with this historic context include springs and water systems; resource collection and processing sites (e.g., salt, kapa, canoe); wet- and dry-land agricultural fields; fish ponds; and other resource areas.

Trails and Boundary Markers

Ancient ala hele (trails) were established to provide travelers with standardized and relatively safe access to a variety of resources. The ala hele were the link between individual residences, resource collection sites, agricultural field systems, and larger communities—the religious and political centers of the island. Along Hawaiian trails may be found a wide variety of cultural resources, including but are not limited to: residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, ilina (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails.

In addition to the ala hele and ala loa (major thoroughfares which usually encircled the island), that run laterally to the shore, there is another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands. The nature of traditional land use and residency practices meant that every ahupua‘a also included one or more mauka-makai trails. In native terminology such mountain to sea trails were generally known as ala pi‘i uka or ala pi‘i mauna (trails which ascend to the uplands or mountain).

In traditional times, ala hele and ala loa (trails and major thoroughfares) were accessed by foot. With the arrival of westerners and introduction of hooved animals led to developing new modes of travel and transporting of goods. By 1847, King Kamehameha III enacted the laws of the Alanui Aupuni (Government Roads). Many of these Alanui Aupuni were laid over the ancient system of trails. Only in instances when a more direct route could be developed (say by installing a bridge), or access was developed to clear wet lands or newly developed property rights, were the early government road redirected from the original trails.

Maly and Maly (2012:152)

The ancient trail system also included many kinds of trails and employed a variety of methods of travel that were adapted to the natural environment and needs of the travelers. Among the native terms and descriptions of types of trails found in native writings are:

- ala hula‘ana – alahula (trails or routes which ended at points on the ocean or at streams that travelers swam to cross to the other side);
- ala ‘ūlili (marked trails on the steep cliffs);
- ala hakalewa or ala kaula (trails along sheer cliffs from which one would at times dangle from rope ladders);
- ala kai (ocean trails on which canoes were used to travel from place to place on one island, or between the various Hawaiian Islands¹. (cf. Malo 1951; Ii 1959; Kamakau 1961; and Māhele and Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study)

¹ The ala kai were also the link between the Hawaiian Islands and Kahiki (the ancestral homelands). The ocean trail(s) known as Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (the path to Kahiki), crossed the great expanse of the kai pōpolohua a Kāne (the deep purple-black ocean of Kāne). The association of this trail with Waiawa of the present study area is described in the tradition of Na‘ula-a-Maihea (Nupepa Kuokoa, 1892).

All of these types of trails were once a part of the landscape in the Honouliuli-Moanalua region of O‘ahu. Indeed, the “alahula” is famed in the bays of Pu‘uloa (now known as Pearl Harbor), and associated with Ka‘ahupāhau, the shark goddess and guardian of Pu‘uloa.

See, my parents moved from Kaimukī to Niu when I was 12 years old, and mama would hear the night marchers come down Hawai‘i Loa Ridge, which is very understandable. And then they would go along, right in front of the house. She got up and watched them, she wasn’t maka‘u [afraid]. But it isn’t...the huaka‘i pō is something we just grew up with. We weren’t frightened by it, there was no maka‘u, it was just part and parcel of what we understood to be, the old folk’s way.

Interview with Thelma Parish,
May 2, 1997 (Maly and Maly
2012: 818)

It is the Hawaiian experience that these trails were, and still remain, important features of the cultural landscape. Even in circumstances where physical remains of the ancient trails have been erased by development and modern land use, it is believed that the po‘e kahiko (ancient people) still walk the land—sometimes in huaka‘i pō (processions of night marchers) (Luomala 1983; Interview with Thelma Parish, May 2, 1997, Maly and Maly 2012:820).

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hoofed animals were introduced). By the mid nineteenth century, wheeled carts were being used on some of the trails. In some cases the old ala hele-ala loa, were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, and others were simply abandoned for newer more direct routes. In establishing modified trail- and early road-systems, portions of the routes were moved far enough inland so as to make a straight route, thus, taking travel away from the shoreline. In 1847, King Kamehameha III established the Alanui Aupuni (Government Roads) system in the Hawaiian

Islands. Work on the roads was funded in part by government appropriations, and through the labor or financial contributions of area residents and prisoners working off penalties.

In the Honouliuli-Moanalua region, and across most of the Hawaiian Islands, the Alanui Aupuni system was developed from the ancient ala hele, with sections of the modern roads being overlaid the ancient trails. Where possible, the work on the traditional ala hele focused on straightening, widening, and smoothing passable routes. In other sections—due to difficult terrain or loss of population—the ala hele were abandoned for newer, more direct, routes. By the late 1800s, the first ala hao (railways) were set in place across the Honouliuli-Moanalua region. The rails were tied to development of large sugar plantations and the emerging communities which grew up around the plantations.

As discussed above, boundary markers denoted the edges of ahupua‘a. Altars or shrines would be built at these locations, where tribute could be left during the makahiki celebration. Boundaries between ahupua‘a were typically defined by changes in the natural landscape. When such changes were not obvious, occasionally a wall of stone might be erected as a boundary marker, as well.

Property types associated with this historic context include trails, and single or multiple stone features.

Each of the themes developed here present different aspects of Hawaiian life that are important to Hawaiian history and culture. By presenting these themes, we can discuss the findings of our research and begin the process of evaluating wahi pana found in or near the Project area for their National Register eligibility.

Findings

Traditional cultural property studies rely on traditional practitioners to identify places of religious and cultural significance to the community, and address questions of effect and mitigation. Hawaiian traditional culture has suffered a significant loss in the numbers of knowledgeable elder kama‘āina who had a direct connection with traditional ways (K. Maly personal communication 2011). As a result of changes in land tenure – where the traditional system of access to resources was replaced by large tracts of land and fisheries being held as private property – native tenants were excluded from traditional resource areas, denied “pathway” rights, and barred from areas of traditional religious and cultural significance. The restrictions on learning and speaking Hawaiian during these times of extreme change also contributed to the loss of traditional knowledge.

The cultural resources studies conducted as part of the Project have emphasized information from past anthropological (including archaeology, ethnography, and biological anthropology), historical, and architectural studies. Several significant classes of Hawaiian information that form the foundation for this report include native lore, historical narratives (ca. 1790s to 1920) describing the land and people, land tenure (1848-1920s), surveys (1850-1930s), testimonies of witnesses before the Boundary Commission (ca. 1860s-1920s), and records of land conveyances. Many of these records were transcribed for the first time from the original documentation.

A substantial amount of this information comes from Hawaiian language resources and the writings of early residents (often the original sources of the written accounts, or witnesses to some of the histories being described). Many of these accounts were written with the explicit intent of recording information about important places, events, and practices that otherwise would have been forgotten; these written records take on the role of the interview. The native language accounts, often written for the express purpose of recording important information about things that should not be forgotten, enable this study to draw on first-hand experiences in considering the issue of previously unidentified TCPs (wahi pana) in the Project area.

Moreover, these historical accounts are consistent with the traditional cultural knowledge and beliefs that the contemporary traditional Hawaiian community provided in consultations during the February and June 2011 TCP meetings and the interviews that Kumu Pono conducted. These additional sources of Hawaiian information enrich the current knowledge of wahi pana. They do not, however, represent anything new or different in terms of the traditional community’s understanding of what wahi pana are, their importance, or the relationship that exists between a Hawaiian and wahi pana.

The interviews conducted for this study did not elicit the names of any additional wahi pana in or near the Project area, or identify the specific locations of the wahi pana discussed in this report.

It is likely that many of the kama‘āina with such knowledge have already passed on. Instead, we relied upon the voices of the native people present in historical accounts, especially native Hawaiian newspapers, to identify the sacred and named places.

What the interviewees did provide were thoughts and feelings that conveyed a deep connection to the land and a sense of responsibility for it. Many of the statements and ideas that interviewees expressed pertain to the need to demonstrate a respect for the land and in the treatment of iwi kūpua.

As attested in all of the interviews undertaken in this study, the importance of sacred and storied places, and the commitment, wherever possible, to respecting and honoring them is part of the living heritage of the traditional Hawaiian community. This community is committed to ensuring that these places and their significance are preserved and shared into the future.

Identification of the Inoa ‘Āina (Named Places)

The results of the combined research (in literature/documentary resources and memories of interviewees) provide a significant body of documentation identifying hundreds of storied places on lands of the Honouliuli-Moanalua region. The technical volume for this study presents 384 place names spanning the Honouliuli-Moanalua region, presented in abbreviated form in Appendix B. Some of the place names are notable in their traditions and descriptions of history as recorded in documentation that is cited later in this study. In addition to identifying the individual place names, this list provides a synopsis of the history of the named places and wahi pana that span the traditional land divisions from sea to mountain peaks.

Appendix B presents inoa ‘āina (named places) listed in the Technical Report for which we found recorded traditions or were frequently referenced in historical accounts reviewed as a part of this study. These named localities provide foundational information for the identification of sites that, with further analysis, could be considered TCPs. While fairly extensive, the list in Appendix B is in no way exhaustive; it simply sets a frame work for consideration of notable places in Hawaiian history on the lands that span the Honouliuli-Moanalua region of O‘ahu. One hundred fifty one (151) place names in Appendix B are shaded to indicate that, based on claims in the Māhele ‘Āina, they are identified as being in or near the Project area.

The inoa ‘āina in Appendix B represent the raw material of named places from which we created a smaller “short list” of places that are in or near the Project area. Each of the place names and their individual descriptions were examined. Places that lacked description sufficient for identification or lacked a story specific to the place were removed from this short list. Places removed from the short list, for example, included entries described only as an “ili,” or places described as “A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.” All these places have importance by virtue of their being named; however, the study focused on those places that can be identified as wahi pana (sacred and storied places). Through this selection process, we identified 26 individual wahi pana, a 27th wahi pana consisting of seven sacred and storied places, 10 inoa ‘āina without associated stories, and 13 ahupua‘a. The ahupua‘a are discussed first followed by the individual wahi pana.

Appendix C indexes the inoa ‘āina discussed further in Tables 2, 3, and 5 of this report. This index cross references these place names with information in the Technical Report.

Ahupua‘a Discussion

Ahupua‘a are traditional land divisions that are part of a system of land tenure that developed late in prehistory in the Hawaiian islands (Kirch 2000). Within this system there are many land divisions starting with the mukupuni (island), moku (subdivisions of the island), ahupua‘a (subdivision of the moku), ili (subdivision of the ahupua‘a), and on down to the individual plot or parcel of land. All of these divisions are part of this system and are important in cultural terms. Each ahupua‘a, and a brief story or tradition found through historic research, is presented below in the order they appear in the Project area from west to east.

Honouliuli

In one tradition, Honouliuli is named for a chief of the same name, who was the husband of Kapālama. They were the parents of Lepeamoa and Kauilani, two heroes in ancient tradition. Numerous claims cited in the Māhele, though the awarded claims were generally in the “taro lands” section of Honouliuli (see Register Map No. 630) in a watered area shoreward of the proposed rail alignment corridor. In traditional times, the land area known as Pu‘uloa was an ‘ili of Honouliuli, though it was sold as a separate land during the time of the Māhele. All native tenant claims made for kuleana at Pu‘uloa were given up by the claimants. Handy provides a description of the terraces, and includes a quote from McAllister.

Large terrace areas are shown on the U. S. Geological survey map of Oahu (1917) bordering West Loch of Pearl Harbor, the indication being that these are still under cultivation. I am told that taro is still grown here. This is evidently what is referred to as ‘Ewa taro lands.’ Of the Honouliuli coral plains McAllister (44, site 146) says: ‘...It is probable that the holes and pits in the coral were formerly used by the Hawaiians. Frequently the soil on the floor of the larger pits was used for cultivation, and even today one comes upon bananas and Hawaiian sugar cane still growing in them.’ (Handy 1940:82)

Hō‘ae‘ae

This ahupua‘a had a moderate-sized area of terraces watered by springs inland from West Loch of Pearl Harbor. (Handy 1940:82)

Waikele

This is one of the “wai” (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua‘a. At Wailele, in Waikele, king Kahahana, his wife, Kekuapo‘i, and his trusted friend, Alapa‘i lived, hiding from the forces of Kahekili. It was here that Kahahana and Alapa‘i were killed by the treachery of Kekuamanohā (the half brother of Kekuapo‘i). Their bodies were taken first to Hālaulani at Waipi‘o and then to Waikīkī as sacrifices (Kamakau 1961:136-137).

In the flatland, where the Kamehameha Highway crosses the lower valley of Waikele Stream, there are the remains of terraces on both sides of the road, now planted to bananas,

beans, cane, and small gardens. For at least 2 miles upstream there were small terrace areas. (Handy 1940:82)

Waipi'o

This is one of the “wai” (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a.

Between West Loch of Pearl Harbor and Loko 'Eō the lowlands were filled with terraces which extended for over a mile up into the flats along Waikele Stream. The lower terraces were formerly irrigated partly from Waipahu Spring, which Hawaiians believed came all the way through the mountains from Kahuku. It is said that terraces formerly existed on the flats in Kīpapa Gulch for at least 2 miles upstream above its junction with Waikele. Wild taros grow in abundance in upper Kīpapa Gulch. (Handy 1940:82)

Waiawa

This is one of the “wai” (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a.

Mānana (Mānana iki & Mānana nui)

Cited in native traditions, claims of the Māhele and historical accounts.

This narrow ahupua'a was called Manana-iki in its lower portion and Manana-nui in the mountains where it broadens and includes Manana Stream, which flows into Waiawa. There were a few terraces seaward, irrigated by Waiawa Stream. (Handy 1940:80)

Waimano

This is one of the “wai” (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a.

Waimano Stream irrigated small terrace areas east of what is now called Pearl City. (Handy 1940:81)

Waiau

Birth place of the chief Kūali'i. Though not specifically named, it follows the line of the tradition that Waiau was one of the “wai” (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a.

The Watered Lands

...When the chief Olopana was killed, the island of Oahu became Kamapuaa's. He then fetched his people (who he had hidden) from above Kaliuwaa and brought them down, and they then returned to their lands. The priest (Lonoawohi) asked Kamapuaa if he could be given some lands for his own as well. He asked, “Perhaps the water lands might be mine.” Kamapuaa agreed. This was something like a riddle that the lands which have the word “water” (wai) in their names would be his, like: Waialua, Waianae, Waimanalo, Waikele, Waipio, Waiawa, Waimano, Waimalu, Waikiki, Waialae, Wailupe, Waimanalo, Waihee, Waiahole and etc.

(Kahiolo 1861)

This tradition provides readers with an account of all the land names beginning with “Wai,” as being lands dedicated to the class of Lono priests. Maly and Maly (2012:57) suggest that the name “Waiau” was omitted unintentionally during publication in 1861.

The ahupua'a takes its name from Waiau spring and pond, south and west of which are small terrace areas now planted mostly in truck [garden produce]. (Handy 1940:81)

Waimalu

This is one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a.

The extensive flats between East Loch of Pearl Harbor and the present highway were formerly developed in terraces irrigated from Waimalu Stream and Waipi spring, which is east of Waiau pond. There are banana groves here now. Terraces also covered the flats extending three quarters of a mile above the highway into Waimalu Valley, and there were small terrace areas several miles upstream beyond these flats. (Handy 1940:81)

Kalauao

It was in this ahupua'a at Kūki'iahu that Kaua'i's ruler, Kā'eokūlani, was killed in a battle with the forces of Kalanikūpule, ruler of O'ahu.

The lowlands seaward of the highway and for a short distance inland, now mostly under cane with a few banana groves, were all formerly terraces irrigated from Kalauao Stream. Kalauao Gulch was too narrow to have terraces inland. (Handy 1940:81)

Aiea

The small area of low flat land covered by plantation camps, railroad, etc., below the old highway, was formerly in terraces. According to McAllister (44, site 146), Mathison made the following observations on this region in 1821-22: ...The adjoining low country is overflowed both naturally and by artificial means, and is well stocked with taro plantations, bananas, etc. The land belongs to many different proprietors; and on every estate there is a fishpond surrounded by a stone wall. ... The neighborhood of the Pearl River is very extensive, rising backwards with a gentle slope toward the woods, but is without cultivation, except around the outskirts to about half a mile from the water. The country is divided into separate farms or allotments belonging to the chiefs, and enclosed with walls from 4 to 6 feet high, made of a mixture of mud and stone. (Handy 1940:81)

Hālawa

The broad flatlands extending 1.5 miles below the highway along Halawa Stream are now under cane but were formerly terraces. The terraces also extended up the flats along the lower courses of Kamananui and Kamanaiki Streams, which join to form Halawa, and I am told that there were small terraces farther up both streams. Four and five miles inland, dry taro was planted on the banks of gulches. (Handy 1940:80)

Moanalua

Inland of what is now Moanalua Park is a moderate-sized area of terraces. Mokumaia writes that Moanalua took its name from two taro patches watered by Iemi Spring: 'The name Moanalua came from two taro patches close to the road taken by travelers from Ewa. They were very close to the spring of Iemi. When the travelers came to the place just mentioned, they found the taro leaves so large that the keepers groped in the dark for taro for the chiefs.

The taro and ohia grew close together and that is how it [Moanalua] got its name which has remained famous to this day...’ These terraces are now planted in wet taro by Chinese, and are irrigated with water from Kalou Stream, which empties into Moanalua Stream three quarters of a mile inland. The large area southwest of lower Moanalua Stream, which is now partly park and partly planted to bananas, was formerly all taro terraces. Most of this area to seaward is still planted in flourishing taro grown by Chinese. There are also extensive irrigated patches east of the lower course of the stream which presumably used to be taro beds but are now partly planted in rice and partly unused. (Handy 1940:80).

Ahupua‘a are generally land divisions that extend mauka to makai and contain within them different resource zones ranging from mountain forests to the coastal plain and the near shore ocean (see the discussion on the traditional resource management system, above). Within each zone, a variety of plant and animal life was traditionally collected for use by the Hawaiian people as indicated in many of the accounts provided above. The brilliance of the ahupua‘a system is that all the resources needed to sustain life were available to the people who lived within each district. Resources were collected by the maka‘āinana for sustenance and to provide tribute to the ali‘i. The ali‘i, in turn, distributed these as needed or offered them to the akua to ensure the continued flow of mana. The rhythm of life within each district was both a practical and spiritual matter expressed in the concept of aloha ‘āina. To this day, Native Hawaiians use the resource zones within the ahupua‘a for traditional purposes. We believe the ahupua‘a are constituent parts of a broader Hawaiian cultural landscape within which are undoubtedly hundreds or even thousands of named places. It is within this context that the wahi pana identified in or near the Poject are next discussed.

Presentation of the Wahi Pana

Individually recorded wahi pana

Table 2 is a list of 26 named places, which are recognized individually as wahi pana (sacred and storied places) and advanced for National Register evaluation. Each of the 26 wahi pana in Table 2 is presented by name; the ahupua‘a within which the storied place is located; and, a description or associated story. Added to the table on the right hand side is the relevant theme or themes that are needed to guide National Register eligibility evaluation process. Information on themes is presented using the following key.

1. Places where the gods and demigods walked the land
2. Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world
3. Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history
4. Places of traditional resource management
5. Trails and boundary markers

Table 2. Individual Wahi Pana in or near the Project Area in Alphabetical Order.

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Description	Theme
'Au'au	Moanalua	A cave of refuge during times of war, near the shore of Moanalua. The cave entrance was on the shore, and was connected to the uplands of Moanalua via an underground cavern. The cavern was used a route of passage by the mo'o goddess, Kaluahine when she desired to go fishing on the shore. Cited in traditions of Moanalua by J.K. Mokumaia (1922).	1
Hā'ena Heiau (Ahu'ena)	Waipi'o	A heiau situated at Hālaulani. Following his conquest of O'ahu in the battle of Nu'uano (1795), Kamehameha I prepared to carry the battle to Kaua'i. He declared a kapu on the heiau of Hā'ena to his god Kūkā'īlimoku (S.M. Kamakau, 1961:173). John Papa Ii, who was later granted title to Waipi'o, and lived at Hālaulani, was the last person to care for the heiau and its gods. Cited in Thrum (1907:46).	1, 2, 3
Hālaulani	Waipi'o	An 'ili situated between the ponds of Hanaloa, Eō and Hanapōuli, and the government road. There was situated in the land of Hālaulani, the heiau called Ahu'ena or Hā'ena, which was used in the time of Kamehameha I, and last cared for by John Papa Ii, who was granted fee-simple interest in the land during the Māhele. Cited in claims of the Māhele and historical accounts.	3
Hā'upu (Haupu'u)	Waiawa	A low hill rising from the shore, where was once an ancient village site, a kahua maika ('ulu maika game field), and a heiau (temple). When the Gods Kāne and Kanaloa walked the lands of 'Ewa, giving live and sustaining resources to those people who were worshipful, they traveled to and stood atop the summit of Hā'upu. From their vantage point they looked out across landscape and Kāne called out in a chant describing the scene, naming noted places and resources of the land. Among the noted places were the fishponds of Kuhialoko, Kuhiawaho; the salt beds of Nīnauele; the coconut grove of Hape; the kalo patches of Moka'alikā; the spring of Ka'aimalu; and the 'awa patch of Kalāhikiola. Hā'upu is the site where the Ewa mission church (Protestant), Kahikuonālani was situated. Named in traditions and historical accounts. (Now the area of Leeward Community College.)	1, 3, 4
Huewaipī	Waiau	A spring situated near Kauhihau and Nāpōhakuloloa, in the vicinity of the old government road. Huewaipī also called Kawaipī, supplied people of this area with drinking water. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	4
Ka'aimalu	Waiawa	This is storied land and spring site was named for a young girl and her brother who ate their fish in secret ('ai malu). A palani fish had been caught along the shore at Kualakai (Honouliuli). Having no further luck in catching fish the two children set out on their trip home. They passed Pu'uokapolei, the plains of Kaupe'a, and went on to Pueohulunui and Kalipāhe'e. From there they went down to Waiawa Stream. There, the children	1, 4

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Description	Theme
		stopped to rest and drink water. Because they had only one fish, the sister suggested that they eat it prior to their return home, where it would have to be shared. The two ate their fish, and were the first to break the 'ai kapu (eating restrictions forbidding members of the opposite sex from eating with one another). The god, Kekua'ōlelo, dwelling in the uplands at Pu'unahawehe heard their conversation and called out to them repeating what they had said. Because of this event, the name Ka'aimalu was given to this place. Cited in the traditions of Maihea, Mekanike'oe, Na Wahi Pana o Ewa, and claims of the Māhele.	
Kahō'ai'ai	Waiawa	Named for one of four chiefesses who turned to stone, and stood as guardians over the trail that passed between 'Ewa and other districts. During the "Waipi'o rebellion" in which Maka'i-olu and other chiefs loyal to Kahahana, king of O'ahu, sought to avenge their king's murder, Kahekili's forces killed so many people that the stream of Kahō'ai'ai was blocked by their bodies. (Kamakau 1961:138) See other place names in this vicinity under the account of Kanukuokamanu. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.	1, 3
Kaihuokapua'a	Waimano	Described as a large stone near the government road marking the boundary between the 'ili of Kaholona and Poupouwela. The stone had the shape of a pig's snout. In 1899, it was situated across from the house of A. Kauhi. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele. The pig form is associated with Lono and ceremonies of land divisions and tribute (Kepa Maly, personal communication).	1, 5
Kaluaiwi (Kaluiwi)	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	A plain land and an ancient maika game field and place where offerings to the Makahiki god were made. Situated below the government road. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)	1, 2
Kalua'ōlohe	Waiau	An 'ili. There is a storied cave here in which a supernatural dog once lived. When this dog, Kū-'īlio-'ula, showed itself, it was usually a portend of some event, like the passing of a chief or changes in the government. Cited in claims of the Māhele. Adjoining the mauka side of Kalua'o'opu.	1
Kanukumanu Kanukuokamanu	Waiawa	A low hill on the shoreward side of the old government road. Named for a young boy of the same name, son of the chief of Waiawa. Just past Kanukuokamanu, towards Honolulu, are found several "royal" stones, named, Kahō'ai'ai, Waiawakalea, Piliaumoa and Kahe'ekuluaikamoku, who were once ancient chiefesses. Their attendants were Nohoana, Kikaeleke, Piliamo'o and Nohonakalai; and together, these stones were guardians of the trail. Cited in the tradition of Lauka'ie'ie and Mekanike'oe. A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele. See also Kanukumanu.	1, 3

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Description	Theme
Ka'oinaomaka'ioulu	Mānana	This site is named in honor of a famous warrior Maka'ioulu, who fought a battle here. Maka'ioulu was a warrior chief who served Kahahana, king of O'ahu, in the battles against the invading forces of Maui, led by Kahekili. This place is situated not far from the old 'Ewa Court house. Cited in the traditions of Mekanike'oe and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). The chief Kahahana was betrayed and killed, and Maka'ioulu and a band of warriors sought to rebel against Kahekili in the battle called Ka-pō-luku on the plains of Mānana. (Kamakau 1961:139). Kaoinaomaka'ioulu is situated near the old government road, on the Honolulu side of Kanukuokamanu.	3
Kapukanawaiokahuku	Waikele	Waikele. A portion of the Waipahu spring system, which was connected by underground caverns to Kahuku in Ko'olauloa. The tradition of this place recounts the disappearance of a kapa beating anvil from Kahuku, and it's being found by a kapa maker at this place in the Waipahu spring. Cited in historical accounts and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	4
Kauhihau	Waiau	A gulch crossed by the old government road, and the site of two stones who were the sons of Maihea (k.) and Punahinalo (w.), and the elder brothers of Nā'ulaamaihea. The boys were named Pūnana-loa-a-Maihea and Ka'akakai-a-Maihea. They took their stone forms prior to the arrival of Kāne and Kanaloa, and birth of Nā'ulaamaihea. The house of Maihea and his family was situated on the hill just above the old road, near these two large stones. The stones are also known by the single name, Nāpōhakuloloa. Just below this place is Huewaipt (Kawaipt), the spring which supplied people of this area with drinking water. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); and in project area claims of the Māhele	1
Kawaili'ulā (Waili'ulā)	Waiau-Waimano	Situated between the 9 and 12 mile marker on the old government road. The woman, Kawai-li'ulā was guided out of Kaleinaaka'uhane, restored to life, and returned to her home at Waipuhia. The place where she lived bears her name, Cited in the tradition of Mekanike'oe.	2
Keonekuilimalaulāo'ewa	Waikele	A kula (plain) land situated above the place called Waipāhū, and crossed by the government road. There once lived a chief here, who was tricked and killed by his younger brother, who then became the ruler of the region. The kula was noted for its flowering plants of ma'o and 'ilima. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); and historical accounts.	3
Kuka'eki	Waiawa	Situated at Mohoa, on the edge of the gulch crossed by the bridge of the government road. Named for a young man, who became the husband of Piliamo'o. They both fished for 'o'opu in the Waiawa stream. They had dual body-forms and eventually took their lizard (water spirit forms), and were later turned to stones which were pointed out to travelers. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	1

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Description	Theme
Kūki'iahu (Kūki'i)	Kalauao	In late 1794, a battle was fought here between the warriors of Kā'eokūlani and Kalanikūpule. Kā'eokūlani was killed in this battle. The dead were gathered and taken down to the shore at Pa'aiau and piled high (Kamakau 1961:169). A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.	3
Nāpōhakuloloa	Waiau	Two long stones situated on the slope of Kauhihau, just above the old government road. These stones were two of the sons of Maihea and Punahinalo. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	1, 5
Nāpōhakuluahine	Waiawa	This place was named for four old women who were chiefesses of the land. They and four of their attendants took stone forms along the side of the ancient trail (later the old government road), and were guardians for those who traveled the trails between 'Ewa and Honolulu. These storied stones were near Kanukuokamanu. The elder chiefesses (stones) were Kahō'ai'ai, Waiawakalea, Piliaumoa, Kahe'ekulu-aikamoku; their attendants (stones) were Nohoana, Kikaeleke, Piliamo'o and Nohonakalai. These stones were pointed out by kama'āina into the late 1890s. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	1, 5
Nā'ulaamaihea (also written "Nauluamaihea")	Waimalu	Maihea and his wife Punahinalo, lived worshipful lives. Punahinalo's name is given to the area where the couple lived. It was Maihea's custom to cultivate crops in the lands of Waimalu and Waiawa. He always called upon gods for whom he did not know names, making offerings and prayers. One day, Kāne and Kanaloa visited Maihea, and granted he and his wife a request that they be given a child. A son was born to the couple, and named Nā'ulaamaihea. As a teenager, Nā'ulaamaihea went to the shore at Pa'akea, from where he rode on the back of a whale to Kahiki. He was instructed in the ways of the priesthood and returned home to teach others how to care for the gods. Two other sons, in the form of stones are also noted places on the land. The heiau ho'oulu 'ai (an agricultural temple), Nā'ulaamaihea was named for the boy who rode the whale to Kahiki and returned as a priest. Cited in the tradition of Maihea (1892); and in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	1
Piliamo'o	Waiawa	Piliamo'o was a supernatural woman who had both lizard and human forms. She met and fell in love with Kuka'eki, and together, they speared 'o'opu fish in Waiawa stream. Near the place named Kuka'eki, just on the edge of Mohoa, where the bridge crosses Waiawa gulch, Piliamo'o and Kuka'eki assumed stone forms. They were among the famous places pointed out by residents of the land. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	1
Piliaumoa	Waiawa	The near shore waters of Piliaumoa were frequented by the shark god Kahi'ukā. This place is not far from	1

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Description	Theme
		Kanukuokamanu. Cited in the tradition of Mākanike'oe; and a named locality in project area claims of the Māhele.	
Po'ohilo	Honouliuli	An 'ili. Named from events following a battle in the Kīpapa-Waikakalaua region, in ca. 1400s, in which the head of Hilo (an invading chief) was placed on a stake at this site and displayed. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.	3
Punahinalo (Punanalo)	Waimalu	A land area named for the wife of Maihea, mother of Na'ulaamaihea and two other sons, for whom places near their home were also named. Cited in the tradition of Maihea; and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).	1
Waipāhū	Waikele	An 'ili. Waipāhū is named for a noted spring, which fed into the Waikele Stream. The spring is said to have been connected to a spring (Kapukanawaiokahuku) at Kahuku; also said to be one of the entrances to the famed royal burial cave of Pohukaina. Site where the man-eating shark, Mikololou was first killed following his attack on people of the Pu'uloa region. Site of the old O'ahu Sugar Mill. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); He Moololo Kaa Hawaii no Keliikau o Kau (1902); and claims of the Māhele.	1, 4

In addition to the 26 identified wahi pana, Table 3 presents 10 named places (inoa 'āina) located in or near the Project area that may be wahi pana, and could still be places of religious and cultural significance to the Native Hawaiian community. These places, while described to some extent, or whose name has a particular meaning, lack an associated mo'olelo or story that identify them as wahi pana based on historical accounts. Consultation with the Native Hawaiian community is needed to determine if there are stories associated with these places and how the community views their significance.

Table 3. Named Places (Inoa 'Āina) in or near the Project Area in Alphabetical Order.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Awaawaloa (Awawaloa)	Moanalua	A fishpond and land area. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kā'eo	'Aiea	A dryland site near the shore, along boundary of 'Aiea and Kalauao; near former house site of Dr. Seth Ford.
Kahāpapa	Waimano,	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele. Bounded on the makai side by the government road, and Kaihuokapua'a.
Kalipāhe'e	Waiawa	The plain lands above Mohoa and the old Waiawa Protestant church. The old government road crossed over this kula. In historic times there was a horse racing track here which was last used in ca. 1898. Afterwards the sugar plantation cleared the area for planting cane. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kanupo'o	Waikele	An 'ili. Bounded by a stream gulch marking the boundary with the 'ili of 'Ōhūa and adjoining Auali'i. Cited in claims of the Mahele. The name may be translated as meaning, "Planted skull" and seems to imply an event of some importance. A tradition for this name has not been located, though it may be tied to events of the battle at Kipapa and the naming of Po'ohilo, at Honouliuli.
Kapu'ukapu	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone. A lowland hill situated a short distance above Kapukakohekohe. The name, "The kapu hill" implies some sort of religious/ceremonial significance. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kauahipu'upu'u	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone. A hillock (āhua) passed by the government road. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kawainao	Waimano-Mānana boundary zone	A pond below the trail through 'Ewa. (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kumuma'u	Moanalua-Hālawā boundary zone	Stone on wall of Loko Āhua marking boundary between Moanalua and Hālawā. Situated on the former shoreline, just above the place called Pālani. Cited in the tradition of Puhi o Laumeki. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Waiakekua	Mānana-Waimano boundary zone	A pūnāwai (spring) site inland of Kaka'e, Mānana below the trail through 'Ewa. Above this place, is the spring Kawainao. This name translates as "Water of the god," and indicates ceremonial significance. (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings)

An examination of the wahi pana presented in Table 4 by themes is revealing of what makes these places important in contextual terms. Table 4 presents a breakdown of the wahi pana by their themes; along the column headings are the themes 1 through 5 and along the rows are the same designations. Column and row totals are also provided. Creating this matrix allows for a comparison of all the wahi pana.

Table 4. Matrix Showing the Occurrence of Wahi Pana by Theme.

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	9					9
2	2					2
3	4		5			9
4	3			2		5
5	3					3
Total	21		5	2		28

Note: The total number of themes represented among the 26 wahi pana is 28 because two wahi pana are associated with three themes.

Key:

1. Places where the gods and demigods walked the land (places where the gods walked)
2. Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world (places of ceremonial importance)
3. Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history (places of historical importance)
4. Places of traditional resource management
5. Trails and boundary markers

Looking at the column totals in Table 4, it is immediately apparent that the greatest number of wahi pana are associated with theme 1 (Places where the gods walked) at 21 out of the 28 thematic designations. Nine places are associated only with theme 1, including Au‘au the cave site used a route of passage by the mo‘o goddess, Kaluahine when she desired to go fishing on the shore; and Piliaumoa, a place along the near shore that was frequented by the shark god Kahi‘ukā. The remaining 12 wahi pana associated with theme 1 are also associated with theme two (2), theme three (4), theme 4 (3) and theme 5 (3). Five wahi pana are associated only with theme 3 (places of historical importance), which includes historical events such as the battle of Kūki‘iahu fought in 1794, but also Hālaulani, which is associated with John Papa Ii, a notable historical figure in Hawaiian history. Two wahi pana are associated with theme 4 (Places of traditional resource management). Both places, Huewaipī and Kapukanawaiokahuku are fresh water springs, which are traditional fresh water resources; the latter is also associated with a mo‘olelo about a kua kapa (bark cloth beating anvil).

The row totals reveal a slightly different pattern. Again, nine wahi pana are solely associated with theme 1. Two places are associated with themes 1 and 2, including Kaluaiwi, where offerings to the Makahiki god (Lono) were made. Nine wahi pana are associated with theme three, including four associated with both themes 1 and 3 including, Kahō‘ai‘ai, a place named for one of four chiefesses who turned to stone and stood as guardians over the trail that passed between ‘Ewa and other districts during the “Waipi‘o rebellion.” Five wahi pana are associated with theme 4, including two associated under themes 1 and 4 including, Ka‘aimalu, which is storied place involving the god, Kekua‘ōlelo and a young girl and her brother who broke the kapu (prohibition) against the members of the opposite sexes eating together. Lastly, three wahi pana are associated with themes 1 and 5 (Trails and boundary markers), including Kaihuokapua‘a, a large stone in the shape of a pit’s snout (associated with the akua Lono) near the government road marking the boundary between the ‘ili of Kaholona and Poupouwela.

There are 16 single themed wahi pana, and 10 more that are important under two themes. There are two properties, however, that are associated with three themes including Hā‘upu (Haupu‘u). Hā‘upu, associated with themes, 1, 3, and 4, is a hill, the site of an ancient village and heiau. The story of this place associates the akua, Kāne and Kanaloa, with the abundance of natural resources that were once found below the hill. Hā‘upu is also the site of the Ewa Protestant mission church, Kahikuonālani built in 1837, which is historically important for its association with a pattern of events on the Hawaiian Islands: the Christian missionary movement.

All 26 wahi pana from Table 2, and the 10 inoa ‘āina from Table 3, are represented on a base map of the Project area presented in Appendix D, which shows their location in relation to the Project alignment and modern landscape features. Each wahi pana and inoa ‘āina is numbered and keyed to its name on the map. The wahi pana are represented in black and the inoa ‘āina are

shown in blue. Also shown in brown are seven wahi pana that are associated with the Leina a ka ‘uhane or Spirit Leaping Off Place, discussed in the next section.

Appendix E contains close-up maps of the wahi pana and inoa ‘āina in proximity to the Project area. Lettered E-1 through E-11 these maps depict on modern aerial overlays the approximate location of each wahi pana and inoa ‘āina in relation to existing development and the Project alignment. Yellow hatch marks indicate the relative position of the wahi pana and the inoa ‘āina. Each named place is numbered and named in the map key. As before, color-coding is used to identify individual wahi pana, the inoa ‘āina, and the seven wahi pana associated with the Spirit Leaping Off Place.

Multiple wahi pana associated with a single sacred and storied place – Leina a ka ‘uhane (Spirit Leaping off Place)

In the course of research, KPA identified multiple wahi pana that are associated with a single, storied place, that of the Leina a ka ‘uhane – “paths-for-leaping-by-the-spirits” (Westervelt 1916). Table 5 lists the wahi pana associated with the Leina a ka ‘uhane. According to traditional Hawaiian beliefs, the leaping off place is where the souls of the dead leave this world to enter the next. A breadfruit tree (Ulu-o-lei-walo) near the Leina a ka ‘uhane is used by the soul for this purpose. To reach the next world, the soul, guided by its aumakua, must choose one of two branches resulting either decent to Po, the underworld, overseen by the akua Milu, or passage to the ‘aumākua world (Beckwith 1940). There are multiple places named as Leina a ka ‘uhane throughout the islands; on O‘ahu, Ka‘ena point is a well known example reported by Westervelt (1916), Beckwith (1940), and mentioned in modern travel guides (Van James 2010).

According to Hawaiian mythology,

The worst fate that can befall a soul is to be abandoned by its aumakua and left to stray, a wandering spirit (kuewa) in some barren and desolate place, feeding upon spiders and night moths. Such spirits are believed to be malicious and to take delight in leading travelers astray; hence the wild places which they haunt on each island are feared and avoided (Beckwith 1940:154).

Table 5. Leina a ka ‘Uthane – Spirit Leaping Off Place in Alphabetical Order.

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description
Kaleinaaka‘uhane	Moanalua-Hālawa boundary zone.	This site situated on the inland side of Āliamanu, by Kapukakī and Leiolono is a leaping place for the spirits of the dead (leina a ka ‘uhane). Some passed this leaping place, went on to the care of their ‘aumakua, others, who had no one to help them, drifted down to Kaupe‘a and Kānehili, where they would wander aimlessly in hope that someone would direct them to the spirit world.
Kānehili	Honouliuli/Pu‘uloa.	An open kula land, noted in tradition for its association with Kaupe‘a, and as a place of wandering spirits. An inhospitable zone. Cited in the tradition of Hi‘iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele and in historical narratives.
Kapukakī	Moanalua-	A wahi pana boundary marker between the Kona and ‘Ewa

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Description
(Keka'anī'auokap ukakī)	Hālawā.	Districts; situated on the upland side of Āliamanu near an ancient burial ground. (see also Kaleinaaka'uhane and Leiolono)
Kaupe'a	Honouliuli.	An area noted as the wandering place of the spirits of the dead, who are seeking their way to another realm. An uninhabited plain with wiliwili (<i>Erythrina</i>) trees and 'ōhai (<i>Sesbania tomentosa</i>) plants, and associated with Kānehili and Leiolono. From Kaupe'a, one may see Leiolono where unclaimed spirits are lost on never ending darkness.
Leiolono (Leilono/Leinono)	Moanalua.	Named for an ancient god, guardian of a deep pit filled with the bodies of dead people. Leiolono is situated on the inland side of Āliamanu. Here, spirits of the dead, those who did not have helpful 'aumākua would be lost. Leiwalo was on the eastern boundary of Leiolono, and Kapapakōlea was the eastern boundary (see also Kaleinaaka'uhane and Kapukakī). Cited in S.M. Kamakau (1870); and the tradition of Mākanike'oe.
Leiwalo ('Uluoleiwalo)	Moanalua.	Once spirits passed through Leiolono, they would find themselves on the 'ulu (breadfruit) tree, Uluoleiwalo. If leaping from the wrong branch, the soul would be lost forever in the realm of Milu. If leaping from the correct branch, the spirit would find helpful 'aumākua to guide them to the desired realm. Cited in S.M. Kamakau, Nupepa Ke Au Okoa, Okatopa 6, 1870; and the tradition of Mākanike'oe.
Nāpēhā	Hālawā	The western end of Leiolono, and place where spirits of the dead would be encouraged to pass through by their 'aumākua. The spring was named "Lean over" because King Kualī'i leaned over to drink water here (Li, 1959). It is also reported that the spring was guarded by a mo'o (water spirit). (Kamakau. Nupepa Ke Au Okoa, Okatopa 6, 1870.) A spring near the ancient trail between 'Ewa and Kona. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).

Wandering spirits are said to inhabit "...the field of kaupea (coral) near Barbers Point, in the desert of Pu'uloa," (Westervelt 1916:247), also described as the "rough country of Kaupe'a at Pu'uloa on Oahu" (Beckwith 1940:154). The leaping off place can be viewed as a spirit path for the departed soul. These pathways are almost always oriented to the west in Hawaiian mythology (Westervelt 1916). In the Project area such a pathway extends from Hālawā and Moanalua to Honouliuli. This pathway is defined physically and metaphysically by multiple wahi pana. The seven wahi pana listed in the table above are interrelated by virtue of their storied connection with the Leina a ka 'uhane and represent both the leaping off place itself and the place where unfortunate souls wander. The pathway is oriented West-Southwest beginning in Hālawā and Moanalua, passing through the entrance to Pearl Harbor, over to Pu'uloa and ending on the plains surrounding Pu'u o Kapolei (K. Maly, personal communication 2012). Figure 2 is a 1909 USGS photo of the Alia Pa'akai, 'Ewa region, illustrating the basic view plane of the Leina a ka 'uhane depicted on the next page in Figure 2.

While the wahi pana associated with the leaping off place do not appear to be in or near the Project area, and are thus not listed in Table 2 above, this spirit pathway is bisected by the Project corridor. As a single property, a wahi pana in of itself, the Leina a ka 'uhane meets the criteria of theme 2: Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world (places of ceremonial importance).

Kepā Maly (KPA) raised the issue of what happens to the spirit of the dead in his interview with Kupuna Arline Eaton. He asked Ms. Eaton if she was aware of the “...connection between Leilono at Āliamanu and Kapukakī, all the way to Honouliuli, the leaping place of the spirits.” Ms. Eaton acknowledged



Figure 2. 1909 USGS Photo of the Alia Pa‘akai, Depicting the View Plane of the Leina a ka ‘Uthane.

the leaping off place as a place of spirits associated with Kaupe‘a and Kānehili (Interview with Arline Eaton, August 23, 2011, Maly and Maly 2012:742).

In sum, archival research for this study has identified multiple places of cultural and historical importance. The 13 ahupua‘a, through which the Project area passes, are traditional land divisions, elements of an island wide cultural landscape on O‘ahu. It is within this cultural context that 26 individual wahi pana, and inoa ‘āina, have been recorded in or near the Project

Leilono at Moanalua, Oahu, was close to the rock **Kapukaki** and easterly of it (a ma ka na‘e aku), directly in line with the burial mound of Aliamanu and facing toward the right side of the North Star (a huli i ka ‘ao‘ao ‘akauo ka Hokupa‘a). On the bank above the old trail there was a flat bed of pahoe-hoe lava, and on it there was a circular place about two feet in circumference. This was the entrance to go down; this was the topmost height (nu‘u) of Kapapaialaka, a place in the ‘aumakua realm. Here at the entrance, ka puka o Leilono, was a breadfruit tree of **Leiwalō**, he ‘ulu o Leiwalō. It had two branches, one on the east side and one on the west.

These branches were deceiving. From one of them, the soul leaped into the po pau ‘ole; if he climbed the other, it would bring aid from helpful ‘aumakua (‘aumakua kokua). From that branch the soul would see the ‘aumakua realm and the ancestors spoken of, Wakea and all the rest, and those of the entire world who had traveled on this same journey. The boundaries of Leilono were, Kapapakolea on the east, [with] a huge caterpillar (pe‘elua nui) called Koleana as its eastern watchman, and the pool **Napeha** on the west, with a mo‘o the watchman there. If the soul was afraid of these watchmen and retreated, it was urged on by the ‘aumakua spirits, then it would go forward again and be guided to the ‘aumakua realm. If a soul coming from the Alia (Aliapa‘akai) side was afraid of the caterpillar, whose head peered over the hill Kapapakolea, and who blocked the way, it would wander about close to the stream by the harness shop. This was not the government road (alanui aupuni) of former times, but was a trail customarily used by “those of Kauhila‘ele” [figuratively, the common people; the la‘ele, old taro leaves, as contrasted with the liko, the new and choicer leaves—that is, the chiefs]. It was said that if a [page 48] wandering soul entered within these boundaries it would die by leaping into the po pau ‘ole; but if they were found by helpful ‘aumakua souls, some wandering souls were saved. Those who had no such help perished in the po pau ‘ole of Milu.

On the plain of **Kaupe‘a** beside Pu‘uloa, wandering souls could go to catch moths (pulelehua) and spiders (nanana). However, wandering souls would not go far in the places mentioned earlier before they would be found catching spiders by ‘aumakua souls, and be helped to escape. Those souls who had no such help were indeed friendless (he po‘e ‘uhane hauka‘e lakou), and there were many who were called by this name, po‘e ‘uhane hauka‘e.

Maly and Maly (2012: 85-86)

area. Lastly, a single sacred and storied place composed of seven wahi pana, associated with the Leina a ka ‘uhane, extends from Hālawā and Moanalua to Honouliuli. The significance of this property lies not in its individual places but in its whole. The Hawaiian saying, “Piha ke kualima” – a full hand – expresses this concept very well. Individual fingers on the hand are useful, but when joined together in a hand, they offer a more effective tool.

National Register Evaluation

Through a process of elimination, the 384 inoa ‘āina were reduced to the 151 named places found to be in or near to the Project area. This list was further reduced to 26 named places considered to be wahi pana by virtue of their name and mo‘olelo. In addition, we identified the Leina a ka ‘uhane as a single sacred and storied place composed of multiple wahi pana. Together these 27 properties are advanced for National Register evaluation. The 10 inoa ‘āina listed in Table 3 are not advanced for National Register evaluation at this time pending further consultation with the Native Hawaiian community.

As previously discussed, to be National Register eligible, TCPs must meet the conditions for listing. These conditions are: The property must be relevant to a time, place, and theme important in history or prehistory in order to be eligible under one or more of the National Register criteria; and, the property must have sufficient integrity to convey its importance. In addition, a TCP must be a property; that is, it must be a place that can be located and spatially defined on a scale that is appropriate to what makes it historically important. We will address the issue of place first.

Parker and King (1990) acknowledge that the first step in the identification of TCPs is to establish that they are, in fact, properties. The National Register recognizes that there is a close relationship between the tangible and intangible when it comes to recognizing historic properties as places of religious and cultural significance. While practices and beliefs may be central to establishing historical or cultural value, these are not, in of themselves, sufficient for listing to the National Register. Practices and beliefs must be associated with location for there to be a property and for the property to be considered National Register eligible. It is also true, however, that a property does not have to have any material evidence of human behavior to be National Register eligible. Each of the 26 individually evaluated wahi pana identified through this study meet the National Register definition of a site, as follows.

A site is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, either standing, ruined, or, vanished, where the location itself possess historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of any existing structures. (National Register Bulletin 1991:5)

The Leina a ka ‘uhane (spirit leaping off place), composed of multiple individual places that are associated with traditional Hawaiian beliefs about the dead that may meet the National Register definition of a historic district, as follows.

A district possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan of physical development. (National Register Bulletin 1991:5)

If a property must be associated with place, then location and boundaries are also relevant to defining historic properties. A practice or belief must be associated with a place and the place must have a location and a boundary, at some scale, to be recognized as a district, site, building, structure, or object eligible for listing to the National Register. This is less relevant to the identification and evaluation of National Register eligible historic properties, and more relevant to assessing effects, which is a later step in the Section 106 compliance process. Since our task, however, is to determine whether or not there are National Register eligible TCPs in or near the Project area, the location and boundaries of the 26 individual wahi pana, plus those associated with the Leina a ka ‘uhane, are relevant. To address this, information on the location of each wahi pana was acquired, where possible, from archival records. Research of these historic records enabled the identification of named places in or adjoining the Project area, or part of larger land claims associated with the māhele applicants or awardees. This research provided the basis for plotting the location of wahi pana on modern maps of the of the Project area.

Giving boundaries to the 26 wahi pana and the Leina a ka ‘uhane identified through this study also involves careful consideration of the source information from which stories about place are derived. In some cases, wahi pana have been identified down to individual plots of land through the Boundary Commission claims and awards. In other cases, wahi pana have been identified by individuals in the past who related the location of wahi pana with reference to the Alanui Aupuni (Old Government Road system). As such, a degree of precision has been attempted to help locate and define the spatial boundaries of the wahi pana in relation to the Project area (See Appendix E maps E-1 through E-11).

Defining boundaries for TCPs can be challenging, however. In this case, the 26 individually identified wahi pana and the Leina a ka ‘uhane are by their very nature storied places on a sacred landscape, and giving specific definition to any one part that landscape is an arbitrary exercise to some degree. To indicate the approximate nature of boundaries cross hatching is used to define each wahi pana or named place without further definition to indicate that boundaries are not fixed. Parker and King (1990) advise that traditional use of a TCP should be given consideration in defining its boundaries so as to capture the area that is the focus of practices or beliefs that give the place its importance. For these wahi pana, activities carried out on site may not be the issue. It may be that the naming of the place is more important and the physical use of the place less so, especially if the place has been modified and is no longer accessible for use. Traditional use as it relates to TCPs, however, can involve activities that require line of sight or unobstructed view sheds. This issue should be considered and discussed with the NHOs that are party to the Project PA.

Each of the properties identified in Table 2, and the Leina a ka ‘uhane identified in Table 5, is associated with a theme or themes that relate to, and is a product of, the Hawaiian perception of the aina (land) as previously discussed. It is this association with the land that gives these places their importance and meaning. Each property can be dated to historic times, as in the battle at Kūki‘iahu, or mythical time as in the story of Piliamo‘o, a supernatural woman “who met and fell in love with Kuka‘eki” and together, they speared ‘o‘opu fish in Waiawa stream.” All are located on the island of O‘ahu in or near the Project area. The stories associated with these places are pieces of a broader narrative about the Hawaiian people and are part of their cultural

legacy. The placement of these wahi pana in their historical context by theme, time and place enables application of the National Register criteria.

The National Register criteria define four areas of significance as previously discussed: events or patterns of events that are significant to history, persons that are significant to history, intrinsic qualities recognizable as historically important; and, information potential about the historic or prehistoric past. The property's integrity must also be considered in making eligibility determinations.

Table 6 presents an analysis of the 26 individually identified wahi pana identified in or near the Project area by name and Ahupua'a according to theme, National Register criteria, and integrity of relationship and condition.

Table 6. Wahi Pna with Associated Theme and National Register Eligibility Criteria in Alphabetical Order.

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Theme	National Register A	National Register B
'Au'au	Moanalua.	1		Associated with Mo'o goddess Kaluahine
Hā'ena Heiau (Ahu'ena)	Waipi'o	1,2,3	Associated with historical event - Ritual prohibition (Kapu) placed by a historical figure on the Heiau	Associated with historical figure Kamehameha I; Associated with akua Kūkā'ilimoku; Associated with historical figure John Papa Ii.
Hālaulani	Waipi'o	3		Associated with historical figure John Papa Ii
Hā'upu (Haupu'u)	Waiawa.	1, 3,4	Associated with pattern of traditional land use. Also associated with pattern of historical events - Christian missionary movement on O'ahu	Associated with akua Kāne and Kanaloa
Huewaipī	Waiau.	4	Associated with pattern of traditional land use - water/spring	
Ka'aimalu	Waiawa.	1, 4	Associated with pattern of traditional land use - water/spring	Associated with akua Kekua'ōlelo
Kahō'ai'ai	Waiawa	1, 3		Associated with akua chiefess Kahō'ai'ai. Also associated with historical figure, Maka'i-olu, and the Waipi'o rebellion.
Kaihuokapua'a	Waimano	1, 5		Associated with akua Lono

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Theme	National Register A	National Register B
Kaluaiwi (Kaluiwi)	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone.	1, 2	Associated with pattern of events - Makahiki seasonal ritual	Associated with akua Lono
Kalua'ōlohe	Waiau.	1		Associated with akua Kū-'Īlio-'ula
Kanukumanu (Kanukuokamanu)	Waiawa.	1, 3		Associated with historical figure - Kanukumanu son Chief of Waiawa. Also associated by proximity with the akua Kahō'ai'ai, Waiawakalea Piliaumoa and Kahe'ekuluakamoku
Ka'oinaomaka'ioulu	Mānana.	3	Associated with historical event - battle of Ka-pō-luku	Associated with historical figure – Maka'ioulu, Warrior chief; Kahahana, King of O'ahu,
Kapukanawaiokahu ku	Waikele	4	Associated with pattern of traditional Resource management – spring, kapa production	
Kauhihau	Waiau	1		Associated with akua Pūnana-loa-a-Maihea and Ka'akakai-a-Maihea.
Kawaili'ulā (Waili'ulā)	Waiau-Waimano	2	Associated with an event - Kawai-li'ulā is lead out of Kaleinaaka'uhane, restored to life, and returned to her home at Waipuhia	
Keonekuilimalaulāo 'ewa	Waikele	3		Associated with historical figure – Chief of region,
Kuka'eki	Waiawa	1		Associated with akua water spirit Piliamo'o
Kūki'iahu	Kalauao	3	Associated with pattern of historical events (battle)	Associated with historical figure Kā'eokūlani
Nāpōhakuloloa	Waiau	1, 5		Associated with akua Kāne and Kanaloa
Nāpōhakuluahine	Waiawa	1, 5	Associated with pattern of traditional land use – trails	Associated with four akua chiefesses Kahō'ai'ai, Waiawakalea, Piliaumoa, Kahe'ekulu-aikamoku and their attendants

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Theme	National Register A	National Register B
Nā'ulaamaihea (also written "Nauluamaihea")	Waimalu	1		Associated with akua Kāne and Kanaloa
Piliamo'o	Waiawa	1		Associated with akua Piliamo'o
Piliaumoa	Waiawa	1		Associated with akua Kahi'ukā
Po'ohilo	Honouliuli	3	Associated with pattern of historical events (battle)	Associated with historical figure Hilo
Punahinalo (Punanalo)	Waimalu	1		Associated with akua Na'ulaamaihea
Waipāhū	Waikele	1, 4	Associated with pattern of traditional land use - water/spring	Associated with akua Mikololou

The National Register criteria apply to all 26 wahi pana that are believed to be in or near the Project area. As explained in the discussion of historic contexts, these wahi pana relate to, and are a part of, a number of historical themes and are significant for a variety of associations according to the National Register criteria. The properties may meet the criteria for listing primarily under two categories. First, they are associated with patterns of events, either historical or mythical, that are important to the history of the Hawaiian people on O'ahu. Second, they are associated with persons, historical or mythical, that are important to the history of the Hawaiian people of O'ahu, or they are significant under both categories

Table 7 presents the Leina a ka 'uhane as a single sacred and storied place, identifying the applicable ahupua'a, theme, National Register criteria, and integrity of relationship and condition.

Table 7. Leina a ka 'Uthane with Associated Theme and National Register Eligibility Criteria.

Wahi Pana	Ahupua'a	Theme	National Register A	National Register B
Leina a ka 'uhane	Hālawā Moanalua, Waiau, Waimano, Pu'uloa, Honouliuli	2	Associated with pattern of events – Leaping off place to the spirit world	Associated with the akua Kānehili, Leiolono, and Milu

In our opinion, each of the 26 individually identified wahi pana, as well as the Leina a ka 'uhane, likely has integrity of relationship. Wahi pana are sacred and storied places on the land and our archival research and informant interviews suggest that these storied places are important to the retention and or transmittal of knowledge and beliefs about the land and history of the Hawaiian People on O'ahu. Integrity of relationship must be discussed with the community and cannot be determined without their input (Parker and King 1990).

KM: The Kūpuna still walk the ground, even if we don't see them, yes?

Group: [Yes.]

KM: This becomes important then, because some people will say, "This area has been all bulldozed and it doesn't look like what it used to, so it's not important." Do you agree with that or not?

LW: I disagree.

HCW: No, no.

LW: I totally disagree.

KM: So the importance is still there, even if you can't see the physical remains?

LW: Sure. You have to treat it as fresh ground.

Interview with Henry Chang Wo (HCW), "Larry" A. Laulani Woode, Jr.(LW), and others, August 29, 2011 (Maly and Maly 2012: 781)

Integrity of condition is the second aspect of integrity that is relevant to evaluating TCPs. Each property must be assessed against the seven aspects of integrity to determine which are relevant to conveying the importance of the property. In our opinion, integrity of location is applicable given that it is the naming of place (location), and the story associated with place, that appears to be important to the Native Hawaiian community. Other aspects of integrity that might apply are feeling and association, as well as setting; however, the physical state of these wahi pana may not be relevant to what makes them important, or at least not now. This is particularly pertinent since many of these places have been affected by modern development and may no longer be accessible as can be seen in the aerial maps in Appendix E. As Monahan (2008) reported in his TCP study of Waimea, physical integrity is often not relevant as long as knowledge

about and memory of a place is maintained. Maly and Maly's interviews with kūpuna reinforce this point (Interview with Hinaleimoana Kalu, October 4, 2011, Maly and Maly 2012:801; Interview with Henry Chang Wo (HCW), "Larry" A. Laulani Woode, Jr.(LW), and others, August 29, 2011. Maly and Maly 2012:781).

Physical remains of sites are not all that makes a place significant.

Interview with Hinaleimoana Kalu, October 4, 2011 (Maly and Maly 2012: 801)

The process of identifying and evaluating TCPs and determining their integrity, must involve the traditional community that understands the meaning and importance of these places. To determine which aspect of integrity apply will require asking the NHOs that are party to the Project PA the question. .

The story of our people lives in the place names.

Interview with Hinaleimoana Kalu, October 4, 2011 (Maly and Maly 2012: 801)

Summary

In sum, we believe this study has established the following:

- Twenty-six individually identified wahi pana are in or near the Project Area. A 27th wahi pana, the Leina a ka ‘uhane – consisting of seven individual wahi pana – extends from Hālawa and Moanalua to Honouliuli. All 27 wahi pana are likely to be places of religious and cultural significance.
- Ten inoa ‘āina identified in or near the Project area may be wahi pana pending consultation with the Native Hawaiian community to record stories or mo’olelo about these places, if available.
- The 26 individually identified wahi pana may be properties that meet the National Register definition of sites; the 27th wahi pana, the Leina a ka ‘uhane, may meet the National Register definition of a historic district.
- The wahi pana have been given approximate locations, as best as can be determined using archival accounts and other historic documentation. Boundary locations are provided where possible but not defined pending consultation with the Native Hawaiian community.
- Many wahi pana may meet one or more of the criteria for listing to the National Register of Historic Places.
- The integrity of relationship and condition are undetermined pending consultation with the Native Hawaiian community.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this TCP study was to determine whether or not there were any previously unidentified TCPs in or near the Project area. To collect the information needed to make this determination the SRI Foundation and Kumu Pono Associates, LLC conducted archival research and oral interviews. In the course of this investigation, 384 inoa ‘āina were identified in the Honouliuli-Moanalua region. Of this number, 151 were found through an examination of historical property records and maps to be in or near the Project area. After examining these 151 named places, 26 were identified as individual wahi pana – sacred and named places. Ten inoa ‘āina may be wahi pana if additional information can be acquired through consultation. In addition, one sacred and named place, Leina a ka ‘uhane, composed of multiple wahi pana, was also identified. All 27 wahi pana may meet the National Register criteria under one or more criteria; however, the aspects of integrity of relationship and condition are still to be determined through discussions with the Native Hawaiian community, represented by the NHOs that participated in the development of the Project PA as consulting parties. To conclude the

identification and evaluation process for the TCP study in Project Sections 1–3, we recommend that HART ask the NHOs the following questions:

- Are any of the inoa ‘āina listed in Table 3 significant in your opinion? If so, why? Do you know of mo‘olelo that could help in recognizing any of these places as wahi pana? This question is relevant to completing identification of wahi pana in Section 1-3.
- Do you find the 27 wahi pana identified in this study to be significant for the reasons given? Are there other values that should be considered that are not reflected in this report? This question is relevant to the National Register status of the properties.
- Are these wahi pana, and their mo‘olelo, important to you for retaining or transmitting traditional knowledge, beliefs, or practices relating to Native Hawaiian culture? This question is relevant to the integrity of relationship.
- Is the current physical condition of these wahi pana relevant to what makes them important to you, even if these locations have been disturbed by modern development? This question is relevant to the integrity of condition.
- Are there uses of these wahi pana that might be relevant to how they are defined on the land and given boundaries? This question is relevant to the issue of spatial boundaries.

A final observation relates to iwi kūpuna. A number of named places identified during the archival research and listed in Appendix B relate to the dead, although no specific iwi kūpuna (burials) appear on the list of wahi pana in Tables 2 and 5. Nevertheless, concern over the disturbance of iwi kūpuna and the need for respectful and appropriate treatment has been expressed by NHOs at the TCP meetings held in February and June 2011, and in the interviews conducted for this study. Discovery of iwi kūpuna during past construction projects in the Honolulu area has been painful to the Native Hawaiian community because of the belief that burials are places of religious and cultural significance and that whenever possible these places should not be disturbed. It is anticipated that iwi kūpuna will be encountered during construction of the Project, and as such, the Hawaiian view of iwi kūpuna is relevant to the discussion of TCPs. In the event that iwi kūpuna are disturbed during the construction of Sections 1–3, HART has developed the *Consultation Protocol for Iwi Kupuna Discovery During the Archaeological Inventory Survey* that specifically addresses the treatment of any iwi kūpuna identified during the archaeological inventory survey. It is available at <http://www.honolulutransit.org/>.

Under Stipulation II of the Project PA, following completion of this report, the next step in the compliance process is for FTA and HART to evaluate the 27 wahi pana identified here for their National Register eligibility and to seek concurrence with the SHPD on these determinations. If the FTA, HART, and SHPD agree that some or all of these wahi pana are eligible for listing to the National Register, then the parties will also assess whether they will be affected by the Project and if so how. FTA and HART will consult with the consulting parties, including the NHOs, to minimize, avoid, or mitigate adverse effects to any National Register eligible wahi pana that may be adversely affected by the Project.

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Appendices

Appendix A:
Traditional Cultural Properties Study: Oral
History/Consultation Program

Traditional Cultural Properties Study Oral History/Consultation Program

Aloha – Thank you for agreeing to participate in the Traditional Cultural Properties study being conducted as part of the Honolulu High-Capacity Transit Rail Corridor Project. The project is being funded by the Federal Transit Administration, and under the National Historic Preservation Act the Federal Transit Administration is required to consider the effects of the project on places of religious and cultural significance that may be listed to the National Register of Historic Places. These places are referred to as Traditional Cultural Properties, or TCPs. TCPs are places that derive their importance from the practices and beliefs of a community because they are integral to the community's history and identity.

To consider the effects of the transit project on TCPs, the agency must determine if any such places are in or near the project area, and if so, how might they be impacted. The TCP study will gather information through interviews with people who know the mo'olelo of the land along the project route. The information gained from these interviews will be used to identify TCPs in or near the project area and help in determining how they may be affected by the project. A report will be prepared and submitted to the Federal Transit Administration and the City of Honolulu along with recommendations on how to avoid or lessen the impacts of the project on any TCPs. It may not be possible to protect TCPs from project impacts. Telling the story of these places, however, will help to preserve knowledge about them and ensure that TCPs will be considered as the project moves forward.

To begin the interview we would like to establish a background section on your personal history and experiences – how you came to possess the knowledge you share.

Interviewees Name: _____

Interview Date: _____ Location: _____

When were you born? _____ Where were you born? _____

Are you affiliated with a Native Hawaiian
Organization or family group (name): _____

Parents? (father) _____ (mother) _____

Grew up where? _____ Also lived at? _____

Where did you live? Share with us recollections of elder family members and extended family that influenced your life and provided you with knowledge of place and practice?

Family background—grandparents, hānai etc.; generations of family residency in area... (time period)?

Kinds of information learned/activities and practices participated in, and how learned...?

Sites and locations (e.g., heiau, 'auwai, pā 'ilina, kahua hale, māla 'ai, lo'i, ala hele, and ko'a etc.); how learned, and thoughts on care and preservation...

Do you have knowledge of wahi pana -- places of religious and cultural significance in or near the proposed rail alignment?

Where are these places located in relation to the proposed rail alignment (see maps)? How did you learn about these places?

Are these places important to the you, your 'ohana, the larger community (or all three)?

What makes these places important? How would you define their boundaries?

Will these places or their use be affected by the project? If so, how might they be affected, and what steps might be taken to minimize impacts on the sites?

Have these places been affected by modern development, and is it relevant to what makes them important?

Subsistence:

Did you/your family cultivate the land? Describe methods of planting and types of plants? Use of particular plants and other natural resources; customs observed when collecting or caring for such resources; and how/when accessed?

Discussion of water flow and weather patterns.

Types of fishing practices: localities of fishing grounds; and changes in fisheries? Use of fishponds?

Historic land use: ranching and plantation operations; changes in the forests and landscape; fishing activities;

Thoughts on the care of cultural and natural resources...?

May information about these places be shared, or should it be protected from public release?

If the interview is recorded, the recording will be transcribed and a draft transcript and the recording will be returned to you for review, corrections and/or additions. If the interview is not recorded, but notes taken, those notes will be developed in an effort to capture key points shared, and returned to you for your approval. When you are satisfied with the transcript (recorded or expanded notes), we would like your permission to incorporate the transcript into the Traditional Cultural Properties Study (TCP). When the TCP study is completed a full copy of the report, including historical background and oral history/consultation interviews will be given to you for your family record.

Mahalo nui.

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Appendix B
List of Inoa 'Āina (Named Places)
Identified in the Honouliuli-Moanalua Region
Presented by Place Name, Ahupua'a and Description

Appendix B: List of inoa ‘āina (named places) identified in the Honouliuli-Moanalua region presented by place name, ahupua‘a and description. Note: shaded place names indicate the place has been identified as in or near the Project area. Refer to the Technical Report for references cited in this list.

Inoa ‘Āina	Ahupua‘a	Description
Āhua	Moanalua-Kalihi boundary zone.	A fishpond and coastal region. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
‘Aiea	‘Aiea	Ahupua‘a. “The small area of low flat land covered by plantation camps, railroad, etc., below the old highway, was formerly in terraces. According to McAllister (44, site 146), Mathison made the following observations on this region in 1821-22: ...The adjoining low country is overflowed both naturally and by artificial means, and is well stocked with taro plantations, bananas, etc. The land belongs to many different proprietors; and on every estate there is a fishpond surrounded by a stone wall. ...The neighborhood of the Pearl River is very extensive, rising backwards with a gentle slope toward the woods, but is without cultivation, except around the outskirts to about half a mile from the water. The country is divided into separate farms or allotments belonging to the chiefs, and enclosed with walls from 4 to 6 feet high, made of a mixture of mud and stone.” (Handy 1940:81)
‘Aihonu	Honouliuli	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
‘Aikapu	Waipi‘o	Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
‘Āpikipiki	Waimano	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
‘Aioloalo (‘Ā‘T‘olo‘olo)	Waikele	A land area on the shore of Waikele, situated below Kupapa‘ulau. (li, 1959:76)
‘Aipua‘a	Waimalu	A land area. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Āliamanu	Moanalua	A noted ‘ili, geological feature and area of an ancient burial ground, near Leinaka‘uhane and Kapukakī (on the inland side of the crater overlooking the ancient trail and government road).
Āliapa‘akai	Moanalua	A noted ‘ili, ancient crater, which once held a pond that rose and fell with the ocean’s tides. Believed to have been a place visited by Pele on her migration across the Hawaiian Islands, as she looked for a home to keep her fires dry. Pele thrust her digging stick, Paoa, into the ground here, and her ocean-formed sister, Nāmaka-okāha‘i, dug in through the ocean causing a clash between fire and water. The residual salt crusted along the inner rim of the crater. And from that day forward, the lake rose and fell with the tides and salt makers worked the land here, harvesting pa‘akai (salt) that was valued through the middle 1800s. (The lake was filled in for development in the 1970s.)
‘Amakeahilalo	Hō‘ae‘ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
‘Amakeahiluna	Hō‘ae‘ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Ana kau pua'a	'Aiea-Kalauao	A site described as being situated along the boundary between these two ahupua'a. The name, translated as "cave in which a pig is set" has ceremonial implications, perhaps tied the Makahiki offerings as it is on an ahupua'a boundary. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Anana	Waimalu	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Apoka'a	Waikele	A named locality, a lele of Hanohano. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Auali'i	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
'Au'au	Moanalua	A cave of refuge during times of war, near the shore of Moanalua. The cave entrance was on the shore, and was connected to the uplands of Moanalua via an underground cavern. The cavern was used a route of passage by the mo'o goddess, Kaluahine when she desired to go fishing on the shore. Cited in traditions of Moanalua by J.K. Mokumaia (1922).
Au'iole	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
'Auwaiomiki	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
<u>Awaawaloa</u> (Awawaloa)	Moanalua	A fishpond and land area. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Eō	Waipi'o	One of the great fishponds of 'Ewa.
Ha'alelenui	Honouliuli	A land area. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Hā'ena Heiau (Ahu'ena)	Waipi'o	A heiau situated at Hālaulani. Following his conquest of O'ahu in the battle of Nu'uano (1795), Kamehameha I prepared to carry the battle to Kaua'i. He declared a kapu on the heiau of Hā'ena to his god Kūkā'ilimoku (S.M. Kamakau, 1961:173). John Papa 'I'i, who was later granted title to Waipi'o, and lived at Hālaulani, was the last person to care for the heiau and it's gods. Cited in Thrum, 1907:46.
Hāhāpō	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Haiao	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Halalena	Waiawa	A land area named as one of the places seen by the gods Kāne and Kanaloa, when viewing the land from Waiawa's shore to Waiawa uka (uplands Waiawa). Cited in the tradition of Makanike'oe.
Hala'ula	Waipi'o	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Hālaulani	Waipi'o	An 'ili situated between the ponds of Hanaloa, Eō and Hanapōuli, and the government road. There was situated in the land of Hālaulani, the heiau called Ahu'ena or Hā'ena, which was used in the time of Kamehameha I, and last cared for by John Papa 'I'i, who was granted fee-simple interest in the land during the Māhele. Cited in claims of the Māhele and historical accounts.
Hālawa	Hālawa	Ahupua'a. "The broad flatlands extending 1.5 miles below the highway along Halawa Stream are now under cane but were formerly terraces. The terraces also extended up the flats along the lower courses of Kamananui and Kamanaiiki Streams which join to form Halawa, and I am told that there were small terraces farther up both streams. Four and 5 miles inland, dry taro was planted on the banks of gulches." (Handy 1940:80)

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Hale'au'au	Honouliuli	An upland region between Pu'uku'ua and Kānehōa. Cited in the tradition of Hi'ikaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele.
Hanakahi (Lae o Halakahi)	Pu'uloa/ Honouliuli	Site named for a man who resided at this place, and who called upon the unknown gods, making offerings and asking for their blessings in his livelihood as a fisherman. Kāne and Kanaloa heard his prayers and visited him, granting his request because of his faithfulness to them. They built fishponds at Keanapua'a, Kepo'okala, and at Kapākule for him. Kapākule near the shores of Keahi, was the best formed of the ponds, and fed Hanakahi's family and later generations of 'Ewa residents for hundreds of years. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). The fishery boundary of Hanakahi (Halakahi) was disputed with Hālawa.
Hanaloa	Waipi'o	An 'ili and name of one of the great fishponds in 'Ewa. The point fronting Hanaloa is named Pūhi-laka for a supernatural eel, guardian, that lived at Hanaloa. Hanaloa is cited in the traditions of Kalelealuakā, Maihea; Na Wahi Pana o Ewa. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Hanapōuli	Waipi'o	An 'ili and fishpond area noted for its growth of sweet potatoes in a chant by the god Kāne. Cited in the tradition of Maihea; and a named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Haluluhale	'Aiea- Hālawa boundary zone	A ancient burial cave with openings in both ahupua'a. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Hanohano	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Hā'upu (Haupu'u)	Waiawa	A low hill rising from the shore, where was once an ancient village site, a kahua maika ('ulu maika game field), and a heiau (temple). When the Gods Kāne and Kanaloa walked the lands of 'Ewa, giving live and sustaining resources to those people who were worshipful, they traveled to and stood atop the summit of Hā'upu. From their vantage point they looked out across landscape and Kāne called out in a chant describing the scene, naming noted places and resources of the land. Among the noted places were the fishponds of Kuhialoko, Kuhiawaho; the salt beds of Nīnauale; the coconut grove of Hape; the kalo patches of Moka'alikā; the spring of Ka'aimalu; and the 'awa patch of Kalāhikiola. Hā'upu is the site where the Ewa mission church (Protestant), Kahikuonālani was situated. Named in traditions and historical accounts. (Now the area of Leeward Community College.)
Hilo-one	Honouliuli	A coastal area famed in mele (chants) from the tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele.
Hinano	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Hō'ae'ae &	Hō'ae'ae	Ahupua'a. "This ahupua'a had a moderate-sized area of terraces watered by springs inland from West Loch of Pearl Harbor." (Handy 1940:82)
Hoakalei	Honouliuli	A coastal spring famed in mele (chants) from the tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Hōkūpa'a	Moanalua	A stone about two feet in circumference, situated just north of Kapukakī, near the side of the ancient trail between 'Ewa and Kona. Cited in the historical narratives of S.M. Kamakau.
Holoipiapia	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Holonaio	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Homahoma	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Honokawailani	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Honopu'e	Waipi'o	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele. Bounded on one side by Hanaloa.
Honouliuli	Honouliuli	<p>Ahupua'a. In one tradition, Honouliuli is named for a chief of the same name, who was the husband of Kapālana. They were the parents of Lepeamoa and Kaulani, two heroes in ancient tradition.</p> <p>Numerous claims cited in the Māhele, though the awarded claims were generally in the "taro lands" section of Honouliuli (see Register Map No. 630) in a watered area shoreward of the proposed rail alignment corridor. In traditional times, the land area known as Pu'uloa was an 'ili of Honouliuli, though it was sold as a separate land during the time of the Māhele. All native tenant claims made for kuleana at Pu'uloa were given up by the claimants.</p> <p>"Large terrace areas are shown on the U. S. Geological survey map of Oahu (1917) bordering West Loch of Pearl Harbor, the indication being that these are still under cultivation. I am told that taro is still grown here. This is evidently what is referred to as 'Ewa taro lands.' Of the Honouliuli coral plains McAllister (44, site 146) says :</p> <p>'...It is probable that the holes and pits in the coral were formerly used by the Hawaiians. Frequently the soil on the floor of the larger pits was used for cultivation, and even today one comes upon bananas and Hawaiian sugar cane still growing in them.'"</p> <p>(Handy 1940:82)</p>
Ho'ōlaiwi	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Hope (Hape)	Waipi'o	An 'ili famed for its coconut grove commemorated in a chant by the god Kāne. Cited in the traditions of Maihea, Makanike'oe and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa.
Hopeiki & Hopenui	Honouliuli, Waikele and Waipi'o	'Ili lands. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Huewaipī	Waiau	A spring situated near Kauhihau and Nāpōhakuloloa, in the vicinity of the old government road. Huewaipī also called Kawaipī, supplied people of this area with drinking water. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
'Īemi	Moanalua	A storied spring and 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele (apparently transposed a "Umi" in some Māhele records). Cited in traditions by J.K. Mokumaia (1922).

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Iholena	'Aiea-Hālawa boundary zone	An area situated in the uplands, there were once houses and workshops of olonā and canoe makers here.
Īna'ikōlea	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Ka'aimalu	Waiawa	This is storied land and spring site was named for a young girl and her brother who ate their fish in secret ('ai malu). A palani fish had been caught along the shore at Kualakai (Honouliuli). Having no further luck in catching fish the two children set out on their trip home. They passed Pu'uokapolei, the plains of Kaupe'a, and went on to Pueohulunui and Kalipāhe'e. From there they went down to Waiawa Stream. There, the children stopped to rest and drink water. Because they had only one fish, the sister suggested that they eat it prior to their return home, where it would have to be shared. The two ate their fish, and were the first to break the 'ai kapu (eating restrictions forbidding members of the opposite sex from eating with one another). The god, Kekua'ōlelo, dwelling in the uplands at Pu'unahawe heard their conversation and called out to them repeating what they had said. Because of this event, the name Ka'aimalu was given to this place. Cited in the traditions of Maihea, Mekanike'oe, Na Wahi Pana o Ewa, and claims of the Māhele.
Ka'aiulua	Moanalua	A land area. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Ka'akauwaihau	Waiau	An 'ili land area and fishery. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele. The term "waihau" denotes a type of heiau built along the 'Ewa coastal region, at which prayers and offerings were made to promote abundance in the fisheries and of the pipi (pearl oysters).
Ka'auku'u	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Ka'eha'eha	Kalauao	An open plain (kula) land celebrated in mele. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Ka'elekū	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kā'eo	'Aiea	A dryland site near the shore, along boundary of 'Aiea and Kalauao; near former house site of Dr. Seth Ford.
Kahaiao	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kahāhālike	Waimano	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kahāhāpū	Honouliuli	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kahaku'ōhi'a	Waikele (and other ahupua'a of the 'Ewa District)	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele. The name bears with it, ceremonial significance, as the "haku 'ōhi'a" was the choice 'ōhi'a post selected for the carving of images when the heiau (temples) were restored following the Makahiki.
Kahakupōhaku (Mole o Kahakupōhaku)	Hālawa-'Aiea boundary zone	A fishpond and large stone in the wall between Kahakupōhaku and Kailōpā'ia fishponds; marking the boundary between these two ahupua'a.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kahala'a	Waimalu	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele. Bounded on one side by Pa'akea.
Kahalekaha	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone	An ala pi'i (trail to uplands) rises on the bluff, between the two ahupua'a at this place. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kahalepō'ai	Waipi'o	A named locality. Cited in the traditions of Kalelealuakā and Pūhi Laumeki. Described as being where the hau groves stood inland at Waipi'o. By 1899, the hau grove was being destroyed as a result of the sugar plantation and water being diverted for the plantation's purposes. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Kahāpapa	Waimano,	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele. Bounded on the makai side by the government road, and Kaihuokapua'a.
Kahauiki (Hauiki)	Moanalua Boundary	A 'ili and kula (flat land) along the Kalihi boundary of Moanalua. Cited in mele, traditions and claims of the Māhele. "Kahauiki Stream irrigated a moderate-sized area of terraces extending from the sea inland for about half a mile." (Handy 1940: 79)
Kahauone	Waipi'o	A place in the uplands once famed for its growth of 'awa (Piper methysticum), an 'awa that was favored by Kakuhihewa, King of O'ahu in the 1500s. Cited in the tradition of Kalelealuakā.
Kahaupu'upu'u	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kahikuonālani	Waiawa	Name given to the 'Ewa Mission Station church, originally built in the early 1830s, situated at Hā'upu (a noted hill and heiau site in ancient times). Renovations of the church were sponsored by King Kalākaua, and the church renamed "The seventh of the chiefs" in his honor.
Kahō'ai'ai	Waiawa	Named for one of four chiefesses who turned to stone, and stood as guardians over the trail that passed between 'Ewa and other districts. During the "Waipi'o rebellion" in which Maka'i-olu and other chiefs loyal to Kahahana, king of O'ahu, sought to avenge their king's murder, Kahekili's forces killed so many people that the stream of Kahō'ai'ai was blocked by their bodies. (Kamakau, 1960:138) See other place names in this vicinity under the account of Kanukuokamanu. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kaholona	Mānana nui	An 'ili. The shore line was noted for the pipi oysters of Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kahiki'ea	Waimalu	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele; bounded by Ka'umi'umi, Pōhakupū, Paepae, Pa'akea, Ka'ōnohi and Kahala'a.
Kahuaiki	a)Hō'ae'ae	a) A near shore pond area noted for its fine-grained salt making beds. Cited in the mele of Kūali'i.
	b)Waipi'o	b) A spring that was once connected to Waipāhū, in Waikele, and celebrated in the account of Lauka'ie'ie and Makanike'oe.
Kahuawai	Kalauao	A freshwater pond, named in the tradition of Makanike'oe. Passed via the old trail between 'Ewa and Honolulu. (li, 1959:20)

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
<u>Ka'ihikapu</u>	Moanalua	A large fishpond salt making/collection site, reportedly built by Ka'ihikapu Manuia (Kalanimanu'ia) A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
<u>Kaihumeneiki</u>	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
<u>Kaihumenenui</u>	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
<u>Kaihuokapua'a</u>	Waimano	Described as a large stone near the government road marking the boundary between the 'ili of Kaholona and Poupouwela. The stone had the shape of a pig's snout. In 1899, it was situated across from the house of A. Kauhi. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kaihuopala'ai	Honouliuli	An 'ili and fishery. Cited in claims of the Māhele. This place was famed in ancient times for its 'anae (mullet). Ka'ulu and 'Apoka'a (a husband and wife; also named localities) were the parents of two human children and two supernatural children, Kaihuopala'ai (a son) and Kaihuku'una (a daughter). When Kaihuopala'ai matured, he married Ka'ōhai. To Kaihuopala'ai and Ka'ōhai were born Pūhi Lo Laumeke (a son) and Kapapapūhi (a daughter). Their story is told in the traditions of Ka 'Ānae o Kaihuopala'ai and Makanike'oe.
Kai-iki	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kailōpā'ia	Hālawā	A fishpond boundary between Hālawā and 'Aiea.
Kāinako'i	Waimalu	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ka'iwa	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kakai'a	Waipi'o	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kāka'e	Mānana-Waimano boundary zone	A house site inland of Pōhakuokāne. (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kalaehopu (Laehopu)	Waiawa-Waipi'o boundary zone	A point of land on shore marking the boundary between these two ahupua'a. (1868, Boundary Commission proceedings)
<u>Kalaekea (Laieka)</u>	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalaeokāne	Honouliuli	An area disputed between the people of Honouliuli and Waieke. Site of the ancient village, Kupali'i. The name translates as "The point of Kāne," and may be suggested to be associated with the tradition of a visit by the gods Kāne and Kanaloa to the region. Cited in the tradition of Maihea.
Kalahale	Hō'ae'ae	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kalāhikiola	Waiawa	A land and fishery. Noted for its growth of 'awa mo'i (a variety of the Piper methysticum); this place of 'awa cultivation was blessed by the gods Kāne and Kanaloa. Cited in the tradition of Maihea.
Kalani	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalanihale	Mānana iki	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele; bounded by Kapauwela and Waiawa on two sides; and includes a fishpond.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kala'ole	Waipi'o	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kalauao	Kalauao	Ahupua'a. It was in this ahupua'a at Kūki'iahu that Kaua'i's ruler, Kā'eokūlani, was killed in a battle with the forces of Kalanikūpule, ruler of O'ahu. "The lowlands seaward of the highway and for a short distance inland, now mostly under cane with a few banana groves, were all formerly terraces irrigated from Kalauao Stream. Kalauao Gulch was too narrow to have terraces inland." (Handy 1940:81)
Kalawaha	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kaleinaaka'uhane	Moanalua-Hālawā boundary zone	This site situated on the inland side of Āliamanu, by Kapukakī and Leiolono is a leaping place for the spirits of the dead (leina a ka 'uhane). Some passed this leaping place, went on to the care of their 'aumakua, others, who had no one to help them, drifted down to Kaupe'a and Kānehili, where they would wander aimlessly in hope that someone would direct them to the spirit world.
Kalipāhe'e	Waiawa	The plain lands above Mohoa and the old Waiawa Protestant church. The old government road crossed over this kula. In historic times there was a horse racing track here which was last used in ca. 1898. Afterwards the sugar plantation cleared the area for planting cane. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Kaloalua	Moanalua	An 'ili and large fishpond. Noted for the quality of awa (Chanos chanos) fish grown there. Cited in traditions and a named locality in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalo'iiki	Hālawā	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalokoawa (Lokoawa)	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalokō'ele	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kaloko'eli	Hō'ae'ae	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalokolua	a) Hālawā	a) An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
	b) Hō'ae'ae	b) A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
	c) Waikele	c) A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
	d) Waimalu	d) A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalokopaoa	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalona	Waiawa	The original name of this land area was "Kekauolonā" (cf. L.C.A. Helu 387). A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalou	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kaluahine	Waipi'o	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Ka-lua-a-ka-Ōlio	Waiawa	A place passed when traveling the trail from Waiawa to Mohoa and Kalipāhe'e, then reaching "The pit made by the dog." Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kaluaiwi (Kaluiwi)	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	A plain land and an ancient maika game field and place where offerings to the Makahiki god were made. Situated below the government road. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kaluakauila	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	An upland canoe maker's house and work shop site. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kaluali'i	Waiaua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kaluamoi	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kalua'ōlohe	Waiau	An 'ili. There is a storied cave here in which a supernatural dog once lived. When this dog, Kū-'Īlio-'ula, showed itself, it was usually a portend of some event, like the passing of a chief or changes in the government. Cited in claims of the Māhele. Adjoining the mauka side of Kalua'o'opu.
Kalua'o'opu	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kaluapulu	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kama'eha	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kamahina	Mānananu i	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kama'ino	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kamalokala	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kamālua	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kama'oma'o	Honouliuli	An area on the kula lands within view of Pu'u o Kapolei, and associated with Kaupe'a. Named for a supernatural woman who dwelt in the area. Cited in the tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-Pele and in historical narratives.
Kamau	Hālawā	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kamiliwaho (Kamili)	Mānana nui	An 'ili. One of the places praised in mele by the gods Kāne and Kanaloa. Noted for its growth of kām taro, for which 'Ewa was famed. Cited in the tradition of Maihea; and in claims of the Māhele.
Kamilomilo	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kamo'oiki	Honouliuli	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kanahunaopapio	Hō'ae'ae-Waipio vicinity	Section of the coast where the chiefess Papio was killed by the shark goddess, Ka'ahupāhau. Cited in the tradition "He Moolelo Kaa Hawaii No Keliikau o Kau."
Kānehili	Honouliuli/Pu'uloa	An open kula land, noted in tradition for its association with Kaupe'a, and as a place of wandering spirits. An inhospitable zone. Cited in the tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele and in historical narratives.
Kānehōa	Honouliuli	A mountain pass, famed in traditional lore and mele. Noted for its growth of kupukupu ferns, and the wind, Waikōloa, which blows from the mountains to the sea. Cited in the traditions of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele and in historical narratives.
Kāne'ohe	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kāneuahina	Waipi'o	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kāneulupō	Waipi'o	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele. Named for a religious sect of the god Kāne (Saturday Press, Dec. 29, 1883)
Kaniu	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kaniukulou	Waipi'o	A stream site below Kekua'ōlelo. Cited in the tradition of Kalelealuakā.
Kanukumanu	Waiawa	A low hill on the shoreward side of the old government road. Named for a young boy of the same name, son of the chief of Waiawa. Just past Kanukuokamanu, towards Honolulu, are found several "royal" stones, named, Kahō'ai'ai, Waiawakalea, Piliaumoa and Kahe'ekuluaikamoku, who were once ancient chiefesses. Their attendants were Nohoana, Kikaeleke, Piliamo'o and Nohonakalai; and together, these stones were guardians of the trail. Cited in the tradition of Lauka'ie'ie and Makanike'oe.
Kanukuokamanu		A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kanupo'o	Waikele	An 'ili. Bounded by a stream gulch marking the boundary with the 'ili of 'Ōhua and adjoining Auali'i. Cited in claims of the Māhele. The name may be translated as meaning, "Planted skull" and seems to imply an event of some importance. A tradition for this name has not been located, though it may be tied to events of the battle at Kīpapa and the naming of Po'ohilo, at Honouliuli.
Ka'ōhai	Waikele	An 'ili. Ka'ōhai was a chiefess of the 'Ewa region, and wife of Kaihuopala'ai. Ka'ōhai gave birth to Kapapapūhi (a girl), and Pūhi Laumeki, born in the form of an eel. The traditions of these places and the people who gave their names to them are told in accounts of Ka 'Anae o Kaihuopala'ai, Lauka'ie'ie, Makanike'oe, and Pūhi o Laumeki. Their traditions explain how the famed 'anae holo (traveling mullet) established their annual circuit around the island of O'ahu. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Ka'oinaomaka'io ulu	Mānana	This site is named in honor of a famous warrior Maka'ioulu, who fought a battle here. Maka'ioulu was a warrior chief who served Kahahana, king of O'ahu, in the battles against the invading forces of Maui, led by Kahekili. This place is situated not far from the old 'Ewa Court house. Cited in the traditions of Makanike'oe and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). The chief Kahahana was betrayed and killed, and Maka'ioulu and a band of warriors sought to rebel against Kahekili in the battle called Ka-pō-luku on the plains of Mānana. (Kamakau, 1960:139). Kaoinaomaka'ioulu is situated near the old government road, on the Honolulu side of Kanukuokamanu.
Ka'oki	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ka'olina (Ko'olina)	Honouliuli	An ancient village site on the western shore, between Lae Loa and Pili o Kahe. Cited in the tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele and historical narratives.
Ka'omuiki	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ka'ōnohi	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kapā'eli (Pā'eli)	Kalauao	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kapahupū	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapakahi	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapakai	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapākule	Pu'uloa-Honouliuli	A fishpond/fish trap on the inner shore of Pu'uloa (across from Hālawā), made by the gods Kāne and Kanaloa, for the benefit of Hanakahi who faithfully worshipped them.
Kapālaha	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kapalakai	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapālama	Waimano	A land area named for the chiefess and grandmother mother of the supernatural children, Kauilani and Lepeamoa, and wife of Honouliuli. (He Kaao no Kauilani). A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapāloa	Waiawa	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kapapapūhi	Honouliuli-Hō'ae'ae boundary zone	A small point on the shore between these two ahupua'a. Also the name of a fishery for Honouliuli. Kapapapūhi was named for the daughter of Kaihuopala'ai and Ka'ōhai, whose history is told in the traditions of Makanike'oe and Pūhi o Laumeki.
Kapapa'u	Waiawa	A site named in the tradition of Lauka'ie'ie and Makanike'oe.
Kapua'i	Kalauao	An 'ili. Situated along the shore, adjoining Pa'aiau on one side.
Kapua'ihalulu	Waiawa	Named in the tradition of Makanike'oe. A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapua'ikāula	Hālawā	A coastal site where the bodies of sharks were tossed during a battle between the sharks of Pu'uloa and Keli'ikauaoka'ū. Kapua'ikāula is a canoe landing and marks the narrowest point in the channel between Hālawā and Pu'uloa, for the entry to Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor). Cited in traditions and historical accounts.
Kapuhale	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapukakī (Keka'anī'auokap ukakī)	Moanalua-Hālawā	A wahi pana boundary marker between the Kona and 'Ewa Districts; situated on the upland side of Āliamanu near an ancient burial ground. (see also Kaleinaaka'uhane and Leiolono)
Kapukakohekohe	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone	Kapukakohekohe is situated on the coastal flats. It was near here where Kalanimanu'ia (w.) died. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kapukanawaioka huku	Waikele	A portion of the Waipāhū spring system, which was connected by underground caverns to Kahuku in Ko'olauloa. The tradition of this place recounts the disappearance of a kapa beating anvil from Kahuku, and it's being found by a kapa maker at this place in the Waipāhū spring. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Kapukaokiha	Kalauao	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele. The name translates as "The hole of Kiha." Kiha was one of the water spirit "mo'o" goddesses, who helped to make chiefs, great rulers. The name signifies ceremonial importance.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kapūlehu	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone	An ancient house site in the uplands. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kapuloko	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kapuna	Waikele	A place of kapa makers, lo'i kalo and houses. The fishery fronting Kapuna belonged to Honouliuli. The people of Kapuna had a way of avoiding the payment of tribute. When the Waikele collector came along, they would claim that they were of Honouliuli; and when the Honouliuli collector came along, they would claim they were of Waikele. Their homes were in Waikele, but their fish belonged to Honouliuli (li, 1959:32). Kapuna was a cave in which chiefs of ancient times once lived. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); and in claims of the Māhele.
Kapuniakai'a	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	A point on shore, adjoining Pa'aiau marking the boundary between these two ahupua'a.
Kapu'ukapu	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	A lowland hill situated a short distance above Kapukakohekohe. The name, "The kapu hill" implies some sort of religious/ceremonial significance. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kauahipu'upu'u	'Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	A hillock (āhua) passed by the government road. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kauakā	Waipi'o	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kauamoa	a) Waipi'o	a) Cited in a mele pana, mele kanikau.
	b) Kalauao	b) An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kauaopai (Kauopai)	Kalauao	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele; adjoining Kauapo'olei on one side.
Kaua'ōpae		
Kauapo'olei	Kalauao	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele; adjoining Kauaopai and Kapā'eli on two sides. Named for the daughter of Kapālama (w.) and Honouliuli (k.). Kauhao was married to Keāhua, and their children were Lepeamoa (a daughter, of supernatural forms) and Kauilani (a son). They are famed in the tradition, "He Kaao no Kauilani." (see Keāhua, near the Mānana-Waimano boundary)
Kauhao		

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kauhihau	Waiau	A gulch crossed by the old government road, and the site of two stones who were the sons of Maihea (k.) and Punahinalo (w.), and the elder brothers of Nā'ulaamaihea. The boys were named Pūnana-loa-a-Maihea and Ka'akakai-a-Maihea. They took their stone forms prior to the arrival of Kāne and Kanaloa, and birth of Nā'ulaamaihea. The house of Maihea and his family was situated on the hill just above the old road, near these two large stones. The stones are also known by the single name, Nāpōhakuloloa. Just below this place is Huewaipt (Kawaipt), the spring which supplied people of this area with drinking water. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); and in project area claims of the Māhele
<u>Kauki</u> (Keuki)	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele (boundary zone).
Ka'ulu		Hō'ae'ae-Honouliuli boundary zone. An ancient village site, known as "Coneyville" in historic times (named for John H. Coney). (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings)
		Reportedly named for the chief, Ka'ulu-hua-i-ka-hāpapa (Pukui, et al. 1974:93).
Ka'umi'umi	Waimalu & Waiawa	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kau'ōhai	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kaupe'a	Honouliuli	An area noted as the wandering place of the spirits of the dead, who are seeking their way to another realm. An uninhabited plain with wiliwili (Erythrina) trees and 'ōhai (Sesbania tomentosa) plants, and associated with Kānehili and Leiolono. From Kaupe'a, one may see Leiolono where unclaimed spirits are lost on never ending darkness.
Kauwālua (Kauālua) (written "Kanalua" in later texts)	Lapakea, Moanalua	Situated on the mauka side of the old trail to 'Ewa. Kauwālua was an ancient battle ground and favored traditional residence of chiefs of O'ahu. Following Kahahana's death, Kalai-koa, a Maui chief who served Kahekili, took up residence here. He had a house made with the bones of defeated O'ahu warriors and chiefs. The house was also enclosed by a fence of human bones with the skulls placed on top of the bundles of bones. (S.M. Kamakau, Nupepa Kuokoa, Maraki 30, 1867, 1961:138-139; also in several historical accounts. Note: In several later published accounts the first letter "u" in "Kauwālua" was transposed in typesetting to an "n.")
Kawahauliuli	Waimalu	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kawaikini	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kawaili'ulā (Waili'ulā)	Waiau-Waimano	Situated between the 9 and 12 mile marker on the old government road. The woman, Kawai-li'ulā was guided out of Kaleinaaka'uhane, restored to life, and returned to her home at Waipuhia. The place where she lived bears her name, Cited in the tradition of Mekanike'oe.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kawainao	Waimano-Mānana boundary zone	A pond below the trail through 'Ewa. (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Ke'a'ali'i	Pu'uloa	A famed stone that marked the center and entry to Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor). Cited in the tradition of "Puhi o Laumeki" and historical accounts of Pu'uloa.
Keahi	Pu'uloa-Honouliuli	An ancient village site named for a beautiful woman who once lived there. For a time, Kamapua'a also lived at Keahi. In the tradition of Kaihuopala'ai, Keahi and Mokuo'eō (an island in the sea fronting Moanalua) were named as companions. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); and in claims of the Māhele.
Keāhua	Mānana-Waimano boundary zone	Named for the husband of Kauhao, the father of Lepeamoa and Kauilani. The fishery Keawakalai, fronting Keahua, was noted for its mullet. (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings; and in tradition of Kauilani)
Keahuake'oa	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone	Referred to by elder native witnesses in the 1869 Boundary Commission proceedings as a "storied place": "...hiki i kahi awawa i kapaia o Waipa mai laila a hiki i Keahuakeoa he wahi pana ia, he Ahua aa, holo mai a ke Awaawa o Kaawili mai laila a Nailiili a Malei..." (...then reach the gulch called Waipa, and from there go to Keahuakeoa, a "wahi pana" (storied place), a stone mound, from there go to the gulch of Kaawili, and from there to Nailiili a Malei...).
Keahumoa	Honouliuli	Kula (plains) on the inland slopes of 'Ewa, within which is found Kunia, and continuing up to Līhu'e on one side; bounded by Kīpapa on the other side. The area was once extensively cultivated with native crops, planted originally by Ka'ōpele. The fields could be seen when looking makai from the mountain pass at Pōhākea. Cited in the traditions of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele and Kalelealuakā.
		There is also situated at Keahumoa, two famous māla 'uala (sweet potato fields) which bear the name, Nāmakaokapāo'o. Pūali'i was killed here, later a king of O'ahu and his warriors were also killed here. Cited in the tradition, "Kaao no Namakaokapao" (1918)
Keahupua'a	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele. By its name, would expect that the site was associated with ceremonies of the annual Makahiki.
Kealalau	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kealapi'i	'Aiea	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kealanahale	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ke'alohi	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Keamonā'ale	Mānana	A beach noted for the occurrence of the pipi and papāua (shell fish) of 'Ewa. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Keanapua'a	Hālawā	Site of a fishpond made by Kāne and Kanaloa. Also a famous cave on the coastal point, and resting place of the demigod, Kamapua'a. The cave was later used by fishermen as a shelter. Cited in the traditions of Kamapua'a and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Keanapueo	Waikele	A cave in the Waipāhū vicinity in which the kapa maker who found the kapa anvil at Kapukanawaiokahuku, worked. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Keawakalai	Mānana iki	A mullet fishery fronting Keāhua.
Kekua'ōlelo	Waiawa	A heiau in the uplands named for a god of the same name. This god could at times be heard calling out in human voice speaking about certain things that were done in secret, thus the name "The god who speaks." Whether in the uplands or on the shore, Kekua'ōlelo could be heard calling out to people describing things they had done. Two place names which come from the speaking of this god are Pōhakuhanapalaoa at Pu'unahaweale and Ka'aimalu in lower Waiawa. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Kekupō'ai	Waipi'o	Situated on the kula lands of Waipi'o, and associated with the place name Lelepua. Cited in the tradition of Kalelealuakā.
Keoneae	Honouliuli	A place situated along the old trail between Honouliuli and Wai'anae, on the Pu'uloa side of Pu'uokapolei.
Keonekuilimalaul āo'ewa	Waikele	A kula (plain) land situated above the place called Waipāhū, and crossed by the government road. There once lived a chief here, who was tricked and killed by his younger brother, who then became the ruler of the region. The kula was noted for its flowering plants of ma'o and 'ilima. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); and historical accounts.
Kepoe	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
<u>Kepoho</u> (Kapoho)	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kepo'okala (Po'okala)	Waipi'o	The point that juts into Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor), at the end of Waipi'o peninsula. Kepo'okala marks the boundary between the fisheries of Honouliuli and Hālawā. Kāne and Kanaloa made a fishpond here, but were dissatisfied with its walls so they left it. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Kiao	Moanalua	An area associated with Leiolono and Kapukakī, noted for the 'ulalena (reddish-yellow tinged) rains.
Kia'i'i'iole	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ki'olepo	Waimalu	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ki'ona'ole	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kīpapa	Waipi'o	During the reigns of Māilikūkāhi (ca. 1400s) and Kākuhihewa (ca. 1500s), invaders from Hawai'i and Maui arrived on O'ahu. In both battles, the O'ahu forces met the opposing forces in the uplands of Waipi'o, and great battles occurred, with the O'ahu forces being victorious. Tradition has it that the body count from the invaders was so great that it is said the area was paved (kīpapa) with their bodies. The battle stretched across Kīpapa, Waikakalaua and the place known as Punalu'u. Punalu'u was named for one of the invading chief-warriors killed during the battle. Another warrior-chief, Hilo, was also killed in the battle and his head was taken to Honouliuli where it was stuck on a stake and thrust into the ground. The name of that place is Po'o-Hilo (Po'ohilo). (Fornander, 1996:90). Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kipawale	Kalauao	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Koalipe'a	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kohepalaoa	Pu'uloa-Honouliuli	An 'ili and fishpond. Cited in claims of the Māhele, and in historic narratives of Pu'uloa.
Koipū	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Koipūiki	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Koipūnui	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Koko	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Komoawa (Kamoawa)	Hālawā	Named for a guardian shark who was the watchman or keeper of the gate into Ke Awalau o Pu'uloa. He lived in the cave called Ke'a'ali'i, and kept man-eating sharks out of the region. Also Identified as being the estuary channel leading into the eastern section of Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa. Now known as the "Hālawā Branch." Cited in Saturday Press, Dec. 29, 1883; and in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Konohikilehulehu	Hālawā	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ko'okā	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kuai'awa	Moanalua	A land area. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kuai'ōpelu	Honouliuli	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kualā'au	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kualaka'i	Honouliuli	An ancient village site situated on the western shore. Cited in native traditions and claims of the Māhele.
Kū'aunui	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kuhia	Waiawa	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kuhia loko	Waiawa	An area named for one of the attendants of the shark-goddess Ka'ahupāhau. A fishpond noted for its mullet in a chant by the god Kāne. Cited in the traditions of Maihea and Mekanike'oe; and named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kuhiawaho	Waiawa	An area named for one of the attendants of the shark-goddess Ka'ahupāhau. A fishpond noted for its limu (seaweeds) in a chant by the god Kāne. Cited in the traditions of Maihea and Mekanike'oe. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Kuka'eki	Waiawa	Situated at Mohoa, on the edge of the gulch crossed by the bridge of the government road. Named for a young man, who became the husband of Piliamo'o. They both fished for 'o'opu in the Waiawa stream. They had dual body-forms and eventually took their lizard (water spirit forms), and were later turned to stones which were pointed out to travelers. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Kuka'elele	Waiawa	A land area. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kukona	Waimano	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kūki'iahu (Kūki'i)	Kalauao	In late 1794, a battle was fought here between the warriors of Kā'eokūlani and Kalanikūpule. Kā'eokūlani was killed in this battle. The dead were gathered and taken down to the shore at Pa'aiau and piled high (Kamakau, 1960:169). A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kukukahi	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kumelewai	Waipi'o	Birth place of native historian, John Papa 'I'i, in 1800. (Ii, 1959:20)
Kumuhau	Honouliuli	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Kumumamo	Honouliuli	Honouliuli coastal plains. Cited in historical mele.
Kumuma'u	Moanalua-Kalihi boundary zone	Situated on the former shore line, just above the place called Pālani. Cited in the tradition of Puhi o Laumeki. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kumu'ulu	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Kūnānā (Loko Kūnānā)	Hālawā	A fishpond and detached parcel on the Hālawā coastal flats.
Kunia	Honouliuli	An upland 'ili. Part of the larger Keahumoa plains, and site of a battle in the time of Kūali'i.
Kuolohēle	Waiawa	A land area named for a friend of the demigod, Kamapua'a.
Kupahu	Waikēle	A canoe landing on the northeastern side of Hālaulani. (Ii, 1959:76)
Kupali'i	Honouliuli	A village site at Kaleokāne. The area disputed between the people of Honouliuli and Waikēle; "...in assessing the ancient tax, putting houses on the line so as to evade both..." (1873, Honouliuli Boundary Commission proceedings)
Kupapa'ulau	a)Waikēle	a) A field where Makahiki contests occurred (Ii, 1959:76)
	b) Mānana nui	b) Cited as an 'ili in a claim of the Māhele.
		The name, may be translated as "Many corpses," and could be an indicator of cultural significance.
Lae o Kahuka	Pu'uloa-Honouliuli	A point marked by a large pile of stones along the inner shore of Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa.
Lae o Kāne	Waikēle	A point at Miki (the ocean fishery claimed by Honouliuli. By name, an area of potential religious significance by association with the god Kāne.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Laeloa (Kalaeloa)	Honouliuli	A low point of land now known as "Barber's Point." Cited in several traditions and historical accounts.
Lehupu'ulu	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Leiolono (Leilono/Leinono)	Moanalua	Named for an ancient god, guardian of a deep pit filled with the bodies of dead people. Leiolono is situated on the inland side of Āliamanu. Here, spirits of the dead, those who did not have helpful 'aumākua would be lost. Leiwalo was on the eastern boundary of Leiolono, and Kapapakōlea was the eastern boundary (see also Kaleinaaka'uhane and Kapukakī). Cited in S.M. Kamakau, Nupepa Ke Au Okoa, Okatopa 6, 1870; and the tradition of Makanike'oe.
Leiwalo ('Uluoleiwalo)	Moanalua	Once spirits passed through Leiolono, they would find themselves on the 'ulu (breadfruit) tree, Uluoleiwalo. If leaping from the wrong branch, the soul would be lost forever in the realm of Milu. If leaping from the correct branch, the spirit would find helpful 'aumākua to guide them to the desired realm. Cited in S.M. Kamakau, Nupepa Ke Au Okoa, Okatopa 6, 1870; and the tradition of Makanike'oe.
Lelepua	Moanalua	A large fishpond and salt making area, built by Ka'ihikapu Manu'ia (Kalanimanu'ia). Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings. A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Lelepua	Waipi'o	An area in the uplands. Near Kahalepō'ai, and named in the tradition of Makanike'oe.
Līhu'e	a) Honouliuli	a) An upland plain and lower mountain region. Waikōloa is a strong wind of Līhu'e that blows from the uplands to the lowlands (cited in the tradition of Ku-a-Pakaa, 1901). Mau'unēnē is a light breeze that blows down the slopes of Līhu'e to the lowlands of 'Ewa. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
	b) Mānana iki, Hō'ae'ae, Waikele	b) Līhu'e is also cited in claims of the Māhele for Mānana iki, Hō'ae'ae, Waikele.
<u>Lole</u> (Lolei)	Mānananu i	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Lōpā	Waimano	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Mā'ili	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Makaakua	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Maka'alaea	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone	A large stone on the shore, marking the boundary between these two ahupua'a (at the land of William Poomoku). (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Makalapa	Hālawā	An ancient crater perched above the Hālawā coastal flats.
Makana'ole	Mānana	Situated on the inland plains, near Kulanakauhale Momi (Pearl City). A hālau (long house) was built here by the chief Kūali'i. Cited in the tradition of Makanike'oe.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
<u>Makaohālawā</u> (Nāmakaohālawā)	Kalauao	An area on the shore associated with the goddess Kānekua'ana whose kapu maintained the presence of the pipi and pāpaua (oysters and shellfish), and other fishes of Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa ("He Moolelo Hawaii." Nupepa Kuokoa, Mei 20, 1893). A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Mālamānui	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Malau	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Manamana	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
<u>Mauakapua'a</u> (Manakapua'a)	a) Kalauao	a) A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
	b) Waikele	b) An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
<u>Mānana</u> (Mānana iki & Mānana nui)	<u>Mānana</u> (Mānana iki & Mānana nui)	Ahupua'a. Cited in native traditions, claims of the Māhele and historical accounts. "This narrow ahupua'a was called Manana-iki in its lower portion and Manana-nui in the mountains where it broadens and includes Manana Stream, which flows into Waiawa. There were a few terraces seaward, irrigated by Waiawa Stream." (Handy 1940:80)
Mānana uka	Mānana	A land area situated above the old Government Road. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Manawai'ealelu	Honouliuli, Hō'ae'ae and Waikele boundary junction zone	A gulch near Poliwai, and site of an ancient hōlua track.
Manawainuieo'o	Moanalua	An underground cave to the ocean, that comes out at Āliapa'akai. Cited in the tradition of Mānikie'oe.
Manuea	Waiawa	A coastal site named in the tradition of Mānikie'oe.
Mā'ona ('Ona)	'Aiea	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Māpuna	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Māpunapuna	Moanalua	An 'ili land division and large fishpond extending to the shore of Moanalua. The pond of Māpunapuna was famed for its 'ama'ama (mullet) fish. Cited in traditions; and a named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Maunakuaha	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Miki	Waikele, disputed with Honouliuli	Kalaeokāne sits on the shore of the 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Mikiokai	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Moanalua	Moanalua	<p>Ahupua'a. "Inland of what is now Moanalua Park is a moderate-sized area of terraces. Mokumaia writes that Moanalua took its name from two taro patches watered by Iemi Spring: 'The name Moanalua came from two taro patches close to the road taken by travelers from Ewa. They were very close to the spring of Iemi. When the travelers came to the place just mentioned, they found the taro leaves so large that the keepers groped in the dark for taro for the chiefs. The taro and oha grew close together and that is how it [Moanalua] got its name which has remained famous to this day...'</p> <p>These terraces are now planted in wet taro by Chinese, and are irrigated with water from Kalou Stream, which empties into Moanalua Stream three quarters of a mile inland. The large area southwest of lower Moanalua Stream, which is now partly park and partly planted to bananas, was formerly all taro terraces. Most of this area to seaward is still planted in flourishing taro grown by Chinese. There are also extensive irrigated patches east of the lower course of the stream which presumably used to be taro beds but are now partly planted in rice and partly unused." Handy 1940:80)</p>
Moka'alikā (Moka'alina)	Waiawa	The taro growth of Moka'alikā was noted in a chant offered by the god Kāne. Moka'alikā is also cited in the tradition of Mākanike'oe.
Mokumoa	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Mokumeha	Honouliuli	Named for a son of Kaihuopala'ai and Ka'ōhai, the brother of Laumeki. Cited in the tradition of Pūhi o Laumeki. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Mokuoeo	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Moku'onini	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Moku'ume'ume (Ford's Island)	Kalauao and Waimalu	Cited in claims of the Māhele. A cave on the island is called Kāneana (Kāne's cave) named from the time when the gods Kāne and Kanaloa visited lands of the 'Ewa District. Pili (Heteropogon) grass was gathered on Moku'ume'ume from ancient times until the later 1800s for use in thatching for Hawaiian houses. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Mo'oiki	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Mo'okapu	Honouliuli-Waialeale boundary zone	An ancient path which leads into Wai'anae uka. (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Mo'ole'a	Waialeale	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Mūkī	Hō'ae'ae	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Muliwai	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Nā'ilī'ilī	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone	An upland gulch where olonā was grown and made, and 'awa planted. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Nālima	Waiau	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Nāmakaokapāo'o	Honouliuli	An area of māla 'uala (sweet potato fields) situated on the plain of Keahumoa, a short distance below Kīpapa. Named for a youth who once lived nearby. Cited in the tradition, "Kaa no Namakaokapao" (1918)
Nā'ono	Waiau	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Nāpēhā	Hālawā	The western end of Leiolono, and place where spirits of the dead would be encouraged to pass through by their 'aumākua. The spring was named "Lean over" because King Kūali'i leaned over to drink water here (li, 1959). It is also reported that the spring was guarded by a mo'o (water spirit). (Kamakau. Nupepa Ke Au Okoa, Okatopa 6, 1870.). A spring near the ancient trail between 'Ewa and Kona. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Nāpōhakuhele	Waiawa	An ancient gaming/context site. Cited in the tradition of Mākanike'oe
Nāpōhakuloloa	Waiau	Two long stones situated on the slope of Kauhīhau, just above the old government road. These stones were two of the sons of Maihea and Punahinalo. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Nāpōhakuluahine	Waiawa	This place was named for four old women who were chiefesses of the land. They and four of their attendants took stone forms along the side of the ancient trail (later the old government road), and were guardians for those who traveled the trails between 'Ewa and Honolulu. These storied stones were near Kanukuokamanu. The elder chiefesses (stones) were Kahō'ai'ai, Waiawakalea, Piliaumoa, Kahe'ekulu-aikamoku; their attendants (stones) were Nohoana, Kikaeleke, Piliamo'o and Nohonakalai. These stones were pointed out by kama'āina into the late 1890s. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Nā'ulaamaihea (also written "Nauluamaihea")	Waimalu	Maihea and his wife Punahinalo, lived worshipful lives. Punahinalo's name is given to the area where the couple lived. It was Maihea's custom to cultivate crops in the lands of Waimalu and Waiawa. He always called upon gods for whom he did not know names, making offerings and prayers. One day, Kāne and Kanaloa visited Maihea, and granted he and his wife a request that they be given a child. A son was born to the couple, and named Nā'ulaamaihea. As a teenager, Nā'ulaamaihea went to the shore at Pa'akea, from where he rode on the back of a whale to Kahiki. He was instructed in the ways of the priesthood and returned home to teach others how to care for the gods. Two other sons, in the form of stones are also noted places on the land. The heiau ho'oulu 'ai (an agricultural temple), Nā'ulaamaihea was named for the boy who rode the whale to Kahiki and returned as a priest. Cited in the tradition of Maihea (1892); and in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Nāwahineokama'oma'o	Honouliuli	An area on the kula lands named for a companion of Pu'u o Kapolei. Cited in the tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Nīnauale (Nīnauwale)	Waikele & Waipi'o	Named 'ili cited in claims of the Māhele. Nīnauwale is noted in traditions for the pa'akai (salt) which was made and gathered from near shore ponds.
Niuhō'okahi	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
'Ōhua	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
'Ōni'o	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
'O'opu	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pa'ahao (Pahao)	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pa'aiau	Kalauao	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pa'akea (Kapa'akea)	Waimalu	An 'ili and fishpond. The place where a whale sent by Kāne came to fetch Nā'ulaamaihea, and take him to Kahiki. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Pā'au'au	Mānana	An 'ili and coastal point. One of the noted boundaries of the Waipi'o-Waiawa portion of the 'Ewa estuary. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Pa'aukī	Waiawa	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Paepae	Waimalu	An 'ili. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pahunui	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pahuwiliwili	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Pā'iwa	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited project area claims of the Māhele.
Pālā'au	Honouliuli	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Pālani	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pālea	Mānana	A coastal site and home of a guardian of the pipi (pearl oysters) of Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor). At Pālea and Pipiloa, there once grew groves of kou and hau trees. These places were once home to the rulers of O'ahu. Cited in the tradition of Makanike'oe.
Pānaio	Waiawa	One of the places named in the tradition of Makanike'oe, when identifying noted places of Waiawa. An 'ili cited in claims of the Māhele.
Papa'a	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Papio	Honouliuli	An area in the bay fronting Honouliuli where the chiefess of the same name was killed in an act of anger by the shark-goddess, Ka'ahupāhau. Koihala, Ka'ahupāhau's human attendant was insulted by Papio, and asked that she be killed. The site is also referred to as "Kanhunaopapio" The coral body form of Ka'ahupāhau is also found near this site. (Keliikau-o-Kau, Mar. 15, 1902)
Pāpua'a	'Aiea-Hālawā boundary zone	An ancient cultivating ground. (1869, Boundary Commission proceedings)

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Pau-ku'u-loa "Aole i pau ku'u loa"	Waikele-Honouliuli	A near shore land and fishery (below Hō'ae'ae), fronting Ulemoku (Boundary Commission proceedings, 1873). The source of naming this place is found in the tradition of Pu'uku'ua. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Pe'ekāua	Honouliuli	Situated on the plain between Pu'uokapolei and Waimānalo. A place famed in the tradition of Hi'iaka's journey across 'Ewa. Pe'ekāua is found on the mauka side of the trail, where there is a large rock standing on the plain. Cited in the tradition of Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele.
Piliamo'o	Waiawa	Piliamo'o was a supernatural woman who had both lizard and human forms. She met and fell in love with Kuka'eki, and together, they speared 'o'opu fish in Waiawa stream. Near the place named Kuka'eki, just on the edge of Mohoa, where the bridge crosses Waiawa gulch, Piliamo'o and Kuka'eki assumed stone forms. They were among the famous places pointed out by residents of the land. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Piliaumoa	Waiawa	The near shore waters of Piliaumoa were frequented by the shark god Kahi'ukā. This place is not far from Kanukuokamanu. Cited in the tradition of Mekanike'oe; and a named locality in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pililua	Moanalua	A cave in which King Kahahana, his wife Kekuapo'i, and Alapa'i hid for a time, following the conquest of O'ahu by the forces of Kahekili. Cited in the account of Mekanike'oe
Piliokahe	Honouliuli	The boundary marker between Honouliuli, 'Ewa and Nānākuli, of the Wai'anae District. The boundary was made during the journey of Kāne and Kanaloa across 'Ewa. During their game of ulu-maika, the boundaries were set by where the stone stopped rolling. Cited in traditions and historical accounts.
Piomoewai	Hālawā	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pipilani	Kalauao	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Pipiloa	Mānana	Pipiloa and Pālea were once home of the rulers of O'ahu. Cited in the tradition of Mekanike'oe.
Pipio	Waimalu	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pōhāhā	Moanalua	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Pōhākea	Honouliuli	A famed mountain pass over which an ancient trail between Honouliuli and Wai'anae crossed. Noted in several native traditions for its commanding view plane to the lowlands and noted places of the 'Ewa District. One branch of the trail to Pōhākea passed near Pu'uokapolei. Cited in the traditions of Kāne, Kanaloa and Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele.
Pōhaku-huna-palaoa	Waipi'o	A famed stone in which a chiefess hid her whale-tooth ivory pendant on the kula lands of Pu'unahawe. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Pōhaku Mokokoko	Honouliuli	A stone on the shore marking the boundary between Honouliuli and Hō'ae'ae, situated along the side of the government road. (1875, Boundary Commission proceedings)

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Pōhaku o Kāne (Pōhakukāne)	Mānana-Waimano boundary zone	This particular "Stone of Kāne" was situated on the shore, and noted for its ability to prophecy. It is said that the stone disappeared in 1891, and its disappearance was believed to be a sign of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893. There was also a companion stone to this Pōhaku o Kāne called Pipila'a, a short distance away. This stone also had supernatural powers, and it also disappeared shortly before the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy. The stone was four feet long, four feet wide and six feet high. The point that juts out towards Moku'ume'ume also bears the name of Pōhaku o Kāne. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). Pōhaku o Kāne are known throughout the islands, and were revered as sites of worship, calling for the abundance of the land and sea, and for the well-being of travelers.
Pōhakupalahala	Honouliuli	A "well known rock along the trail" between Honouliuli and Hō'ae'ae. (1873, Boundary Commission Proceedings)
Pōhakupili	Waikele-Hō'ae'ae boundary zone	The supernatural stone that belonged to the gods Kāne and Kanaloa, who divided out the district of 'Ewa while playing a game. Pōhakupili is situated on the edge of a cliff above Waipāhū. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Pōhakupū	Waimalu	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pōhaku'ume'ume	Hālawā-'Āiea boundary zone	A legendary stone marking the boundary. (1874, Boundary Commission Proceedings)
Po'ohilo	Honouliuli	An 'ili. Named from events following a battle in the Kīpapa-Waikakalaua region, in ca. 1400s, in which the head of Hilo (an invading chief) was placed on a stake at this site and displayed. A named locality cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pouhala	Waikele	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Pualehua	Waimano	An 'ili. Cited in the Māhele; situated below the old government road.
Punahinalo (Punanalo)	Waimalu	A land area named for the wife of Maihea, mother of Na'ulaamaihea and two other sons, for whom places near their home were also named. Cited in the tradition of Maihea; and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).
Pu'ua	'Āiea-Hālawā boundary zone	An ancient canoe makers house and workshop (Kahuahale kālai wa'a).
Pu'ukapu	Waimano	An 'ili. Adjoining Ka'akauwaihau on one side. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Pu'uku'ua	Honouliuli	A hill of the inland region of Honouliuli. A place where chiefs once lived, and a battle field. It is said that the place named "Pau ku'u loa" originated from a practice of the people here at Pu'uku'ua. Kāne and Kanaloa tired of working, and set aside their work here to return to Kahiki. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899).

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Pu'uloa	Honouliuli	This land was traditionally an 'ili of Honouliuli, and marked the entrance to Ke awa lau o Pu'uloa (The many bays of Pu'uloa – Pearl Harbor, Pearl River or Wai Momi). The waters of Pu'uloa were protected by the shark goddess Ka'ahupāhau, her brother, Kahi'ukā, and the little shark god Ka-'ehu-iki-manō-o-Pu'uloa.
Punahawele (Pu'unahawele)	Waipi'o	<p>Kula lands situated east of Kanoenoe plains, which are on the west side of Waipi'o. This area famed in the account of Kalelealuakā, and once supported cultivated dryland fields. The plains of Punahawele were covered with sugarcane by the late 1890s.</p> <p>The ancient trail between 'Ewa and Waialua passed through Pu'unahawele. There was a famous stone named "Pōhaku-huna-palaoa" (Stone of the hidden ivory pendant) on the trail side. It is said that a chiefess from Hawai'i arrived at Pu'uloa, and while walking to Waialua, she stopped at the stone to rest, and saw that it had deep holes in it. She determined that she should hide her whale tooth pendant (a symbol of royalty) in the deepest hole in the stone. Thinking she was alone, she hid the palaoa, but she was being watched by a god named Kekua'ōlelo. Kekua'ōlelo proclaimed who she was and what she was doing. Kekua'ōlelo's name is remembered at a heiau not far from Pōhaku-huna-palaoa.</p> <p>In 1794, a battle in the war between Kā'eokūlani and Kalanikūpule was fought on the plains of Pu'unahawele. Foreigners and their weapons were a part of this battle, and some foreigners were killed here as well. (Kamakau, 1960:169)</p>
Punalu'u		An upland 'ili. During the reign of Kākuhihewa, a great battle was fought here and on neighboring lands, a Hawai'i chief, by the name of Punalu'u was killed here, and his name given to the land (see Kīpapa).
Pu'u-o-Kapo-lei	Honouliuli	<p>This hill was named for the goddess Kapo, an elder sister of Pele. It was also the home of the supernatural grandmother of the demigod, Kamapua'a (He Moolelo no Kamapuaa, 1861). S.M. Kamakau recorded the tradition that Pu'u o Kapolei was used by the people of O'ahu to mark the seasons of the year. When the sun set over the hill, it was Kau (summer). When the sun moved south, setting beyond the hill, it was Ho'oilo (winter). (Kamakau, 1976:14) The old government road passed behind this pu'u. Pu'uku'ua is viewed further inland from this hill. The plains around this region were covered with sugarcane by the late 1890s. A heiau once situated on this hill, and a rock shelter were destroyed in the early 1900s (McAllister, 1933:108, Site 138)</p>
Pu'u'ōpae	Waipi'o	An area of fishponds and property of the 'I'i family. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
'Ulu	Waipi'o	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Ulemoku	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Ulumalu	Waikele	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Waholoa	Waimalu	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Waiahu'alele ('Alele)	Waikele	A spring of water above Waipāhū, the resting place of the supernatural stone named, Pōhakupili. Cited in the tradition of Lauka'ie'ie and Makanike'oe; and Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899). A short distance above Waipāhū is another spring called 'Alele. At that time, high chief Peleioholani resided at Waikele. Kamaka'i-moku became pregnant by Peleioholani, with Ka-lei-'ōpu'u, who later became known as Kalani'ōpu'u, king of the island of Hawai'i (Kamakau, 1960:75).
Waiakekua	Mānana-Waimano boundary zone	A pūnāwai (spring) site inland of Kāka'e, Mānana below the trail through 'Ewa. Above this place, is the spring Kawainao. This name translates as "Water of the god," and indicates ceremonial significance. (1873, Boundary Commission proceedings)
Waiau	Waiau	Ahupua'a. Birth place of the chief Kūali'i. Though not specifically named, it follows the line of the tradition that that Waiau was one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a. "The ahupua'a takes its name from Waiau spring and pond, south and west of which are small terrace areas now planted mostly in truck." (Handy 1940:81)
Waiawa	Waiawa	Ahupua'a. This is one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a.
Wai'eli	Waimalu	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Waihaha	Waipi'o	An 'ili. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Waihī	Hō'ae'ae	An area on the side of a gulch, above the old railway.
Waihīluna	'Aiea	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Waikakalaua	Waikele	An upland 'ili. During the reign of Kākuhihewa, a great battle was fought here and on neighboring lands (see Kīpapa). Cited in numerous traditions and historical accounts.
Waikele	Waikele	Ahupua'a. This is one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a. At Wailele, in Waikele, king Kahahana, his wife, Kekuapo'i, and his trusted friend, Alapa'i lived, hiding from the forces of Kahekili. It was here that Kahahana and Alapa'i were killed by the treachery of Kekuamanohā (the half brother of Kekuapo'i). Their bodies were taken first to Hālaulani at Waipi'o and then to Waikīkī as sacrifices (Kamakau, 1961:136-137). "In the flatland, where the Kamehameha Highway crosses the lower valley of Waikele Stream, there are the remains of terraces on both sides of the road, now planted to bananas, beans, cane, and small gardens. For at least 2 miles upstream there were small terrace areas." (Handy 1940: 82)
Waikowaha	Waiau	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Wailokai	Hālawā	A marshy area on the Hālawā coastal flats.
Waimalu	Waimalu	Ahupua'a. This is one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a.

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
		"The extensive flats between East Loch of Pearl Harbor and the present highway were formerly developed in terraces irrigated from Waimalu Stream and Waipi spring, which is east of Waiau pond. There are banana groves here now. Terraces also covered the flats extending three quarters of a mile above the highway into Waimalu Valley, and there were small terrace areas several miles upstream beyond these flats." (Handy 1940:81)
Waimānalo	Honouliuli	An 'ili. This is one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a. During the time of Kākuhihewa (King of O'ahu, ca. 1500s), Waimānalo was home of a priest named Nāpuaikama'o. It was this priest who traveled to Ko'olina, where Kākuhihewa was waiting, and foretold that Kalelealuakā would gain victory in the battles being brought to O'ahu's shores. Cited in claims of the Māhele.
Waimano	Waimano	Ahupua'a. This is one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a. "Waimano Stream irrigated small terrace areas east of what is now called Pearl City." (Handy 1940:81)
Waiola	Moanalua.	A pond at the place in Moanalua Valley where the two streams join together. The water of this pond was noted for its healing qualities. Cited in historical accounts.
Waipāhū	Waikele	An 'ili. Waipāhū is named for a noted spring which fed into the Waikele Stream. The spring is said to have been connected to a spring (Kapukanawaiokahuku) at Kahuku; also said to be one of the entrances to the famed royal burial cave of Pohukaina. Site where the man-eating shark, Mikololou was first killed following his attack on people of the Pu'uloa region. Site of the old O'ahu Sugar Mill. Cited in Na Wahi Pana o Ewa (1899); He Moolelo Kaao Hawaii no Keliikau o Kau (1902); and claims of the Māhele.
Waipi'o	Waipi'o	Ahupua'a. This is one of the "wai" (watered lands) granted to priests of the Lono class, by the demigod, Kamapua'a. "Between West Loch of Pearl Harbor and Loko 'Eō the lowlands were filled with terraces which extended for over a mile up into the flats along Waikele Stream. The lower terraces were formerly irrigated partly from Waipahu Spring, which Hawaiians believed came all the way through the mountains from Kahuku. It is said that terraces formerly existed on the flats in Kīpapa Gulch for at least 2 miles upstream above its junction with Waikele. Wild taros grow in abundance in upper Kīpapa Gulch." (Handy 1940:82)
Waipōuli	Honouliuli	A cave situated about five miles below Nāmakaokapāo'o and the Keahumoa plain. The place where the head of Pūali'i was thrown after he was killed. The cave was used for a time as a shelter to hide Pōka'i, mother of Nāmakaokapāo'o. Cited in the tradition, "Kaao no Namakaokapao" (1918)

Inoa 'Āina	Ahupua'a	Description
Waipuhia	Near Waiau-Waimano boundary	Cited with the account of Waili'ulā in the tradition of Mekanike'oe.
Weli	Moanalua	A named locality. Cited in project area claims of the Māhele.
Welokā	Mānana	An 'ili and fishpond. The pond was noted for its excellent mullet. Cited in claims of the Māhele. Welokā was part of the Crown Lands, and a portion of the lands was conveyed by Kamehameha IV to Bernard & Remond.

Appendix C
Inoa 'Āina Index to the Technical Report

Appendix C: Index of the inoa ‘āina listed in Tables 2, 3, and 5 of the Management Report. This appendix cross-references the pages in the Technical Report where these named places are listed. It includes alternate spellings found in the Technical Report. This index is broken down by the major sections of the Technical Report (Appendix C-1) and its tables (Appendix C-2). An asterisk (*) preceding the Gazetteer entry for the inoa ‘āina indicates the place name occurs too many times to list in Appendices C-1 and C-2.

Appendix C-1. Inoa ‘āina index to major sections of the Technical Report

Inoa ‘Āina (Alternate spellings)	Ahupua‘a	Gazetteer of Places Names ... p. 6	Nā Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i p. 46	Hulihia Ke Au p. 128	Ka ‘Ōuli O Ka ‘Āina p. 198	Boundary Commission (1868 – 1926) p. 537	He Mea Ho‘omana‘o p. 721
‘Au‘au (Auau)	Moanalua	7		160, 197			
Awaawaloa (Awawaloa) (Awawaloa)	Moanalua	7			493, 504, 505, 513		
Hā‘ena Heiau (Ahu‘ena) (Hāena, Ahu‘ena)	Waipi‘o	7, 8	52, 54, 113				868
Hālaulani	Waipi‘o	7, 8, 30, 43		155, 163			
Hālawa	Hālawa	*8					
Hā‘upu (Haupu‘u) (Hā‘upu, Haupu‘u, Haupu)	Waiawa	9, 13	92, 94, 103,	130, 149, 187			767
Hō‘ae‘ae (Hoeae)	Hō‘ae‘ae	6, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 43	63, 72, 74, 76, 115, 117, 118,	129, 142	224, 233, 240, 392-397, 399, 539, 543-550, 553-555, 557, 567, 568, 571, 575, 578		737, 871, 873
Honouliuli	Honouliuli	*10					
Huewaipī	Waiau	10, 23, 44					
Ka‘aimalu (Kaaimalu)	Waiawa	9, 11, 26	93, 94, 103				747, 767, 774
Kā‘eo (Kaeo)	‘Aiea	12	61	130		697, 701, 704	
Kahāpapa (Kahapapa)	Waimano,	12			242 (RM 1147), 529	539, 540, 554, 644, 645	
Kahō‘ai‘ai (Kahoaiai)	Waiawa	13, 19, 35			441, 444, 445, 451, 453		

Inoa ‘Āina (Alternate spellings)	Ahupua‘a	Gazetteer of Places Names ... p. 6	Nā Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i p. 46	Hulihia Ke Au p. 128	Ka ‘Ōuli O Ka ‘Āina p. 198	Boundary Commission (1868 – 1926) p. 537	He Mea Ho‘omana‘o p. 721
Kaihuokapua‘a (<i>Kaihuokapuaa</i>)	Waimano	12, 14			241 (RM 1147), 242, 490, 527	627	
Kalauao	Kalauao	*15					
Kaleinaaka‘uhane (<i>Kaleinaakauhane</i>)	Moanalua-Hālawā boundary zone	16, 21, 24, 31	101				
Kalipāhe‘e	Waiawa	11, 16, 17					
Kaluaiwi (Kaluiwi) (<i>Kaluiwi, Kaluawi</i>)	‘Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	17				697, 699-701, 704	
Kalua‘ōlohe (<i>Kaluaolohe</i>)	Waiau	17			241 (RM 1147), 242, 427, 531		
Kānehili (<i>Kanehili</i>)	Honouliuli/Pu‘uloa	16, 18, 24	62, 71, 84, 124-126				742, 746, 759, 760
Kanukumanu, Kanukuokamanu (<i>Kanukuokamanu</i>)	Waiawa	13, 19, 20, 35, 38	102		448		
Kanupo‘o (<i>Kanupoo</i>)	Waikele	19				558, 561, 562, 576, 582, 583	
Ka‘oinaomaka‘ioulū (<i>Kaoinaomaka‘ioulū, Kaoinaomakaoulū</i>)	Mānana	20	102				
Kapukakī (Keka‘anī‘auokapukakī) (<i>Kapukakī</i>)	Moanalua-Hālawā	6, 16, 22, 27, 31	65, 67, 84, 85, 91, 101, 110,	129, 145	512	707, 715	742, 774
Kapukanawaiokahuku	Waikele	22, 26, 44					798
Kapu‘ukapu (<i>Kapuukapu, Kapukapu</i>)	‘Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	22				698, 702, 706	
Kauahipu‘upu‘u (<i>Kauahipupupu</i>)	‘Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone	23				697, 701	
Kauhihau	Waiau	10, 23, 35			241 (RM 1147), 242, 429, 431, 435		
Kaupe‘a (<i>Kaupea</i>)	Honouliuli	11 16, 18, 24	53, 54, 62, 71, 84, 86, 105, 124, 125, 126				742, 746, 757, 759, 760, 774

Inoa ‘Āina (Alternate spellings)	Ahupua‘a	Gazetteer of Places Names ... p. 6	Nā Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i p. 46	Hulihia Ke Au p. 128	Ka ‘Ōuli O Ka ‘Āina p. 198	Boundary Commission (1868 – 1926) p. 537	He Mea Ho‘omana‘o p. 721
Kawaili‘ulā (Waili‘ulā) (<i>Kawailiula</i>)	Waiau-Waimano	24, 45	63, 71, 101, 102				
Kawainao	Waimano-Mānana boundary zone	24, 42				625, 626	
Keonekuilimalaulāo‘ewa (<i>Keonekuilimalaulāoewa</i>)	Waikele	26					
Kuka‘eki	Waiawa	29, 38					
Kūki‘īahu (Kūki‘ī) (<i>Kūki‘ī, Kūkiīahu, Kūki‘ī‘ahu</i>)	Kalauao	15, 29	60, 61, 62,	130	413, 416	700	744
Kumuma‘u (<i>Kumumau</i>)	Moanalua-Kalihi boundary zone	29	110		504, 511, 513	706, 710-714, 716	
Leiolono (Leilono/ Leiolono) (<i>Leilono, Leinono</i>)	Moanalua	16, 21, 24, 27, 31, 35	84, 85, 101, 122, 126, 127				742, 744, 774
Leiwalo (‘Uluoleiwalo) (<i>‘Uluoleiwalo, Uluoleiwalo</i>)	Moanalua	31	84-86, 105				
Mānana (Mānana iki & Mānana nui)	Mānana (Mānana iki & Mānana nui)	*32					
Moanalua	Moanalua	*33					
Nāpēhā (<i>Napeha</i>)	Hālawā	35	84, 85	129, 144, 145			
Nāpōhakuloloa	Waiau	10, 23, 35					
Nāpōhakuluahine	Waiawa	35					
Nā‘ulaamaihea (also written “Nauluamaihea”) (<i>Nauluamaihea</i>)	Waimalu	23, 36, 37, 40					748
Piliamo‘o (<i>Piliamoo</i>)	Waiawa	19, 29, 35, 38		130	392, 399		
Piliaumoa	Waiawa	19, 35, 38	102, 103		446		
Po‘ohilo (<i>Po‘o-Hilo, Poohilo</i>)	Honouliuli	19, 27, 40			400-406, 408		775

Inoa ‘Āina (Alternate spellings)	Ahupua‘a	Gazetteer of Places Names ... p. 6	Nā Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i p. 46	Hulihia Ke Au p. 128	Ka ‘Ōuli O Ka ‘Āina p. 198	Boundary Commission (1868 – 1926) p. 537	He Mea Ho‘omana‘o p. 721
Punahinalo (Punanalo) (Punanalo, <i>Punahinanalō</i>)	Waimalu	23, 35, 36, 40	92, 93				
Waiakekua	Mānana-Waimano boundary zone	42				625, 626	
Waiau	Waiau	*43					
Waiawa	Waiawa	*43					
Waikele	Waikele	*43					
Waimalu	Waimalu	*44					
Waimānalo	Honouliuli	38, 44	56, 58, 61, 63, 82, 100,	136, 144, 145, 168, 186		550	778, 798
Waipāhū	Waikele	14, 22, 26, 40, 42, 44, 45	56, 59, 63, 84, 85, 89, 104-106,	189	229, 456	567, 570, 574, 581, 582, 591, 598, 609	729, 737, 738, 770, 778, 781, 786, 787, 791- 793, 795, 796, 798, 802, 818, 826
Waipi‘o	Waipi‘o	45					

Appendix C-2. Inoa ‘āina index to tables in the Technical Report.

Inoa ‘Āina (Alternate spellings)	Ahupua‘a	Table 1. Disposition of Lands ... in the Buke Mahele p. 204-221	Table 2. Place Names from Māhele ‘Āina Records p. 225-231	Table 3. Māhele Claims by Ahupua‘a and Helu p. 244-379	Table 4. Grants Issues ... ‘Ewa District p. 516-520	Table 5. Place Names ... the Boundary Commission p. 539-542
‘Au‘au (Auau)	Moanalua					
Awaawaloa (Awawaloa) (Awawaloa)	Moanalua		231	263, 363, 367, 368, 371, 373		
Hā‘ena Heiau (Ahu‘ena) (Hāena, Ahu‘ena)	Waipi‘o					
Hālaulani	Waipi‘o		230	361		
Hālawa	Hālawa					
Hā‘upu (Haupu‘u) (Hā‘upu, Haupu‘u, Haupuu)	Waiawa					
Hō‘ae‘ae	Hō‘ae‘ae	219	226	253-257, 265		
Honouliuli	Honouliuli					
Huewaipī	Waiau					
Ka‘aimalu (Kaaimalu)	Waiawa		228	306, 311		
Kā‘eo (Kāeo)	‘Aiea	209				541
Kahāpapa	Waimano,	208, 220	230	344, 345	519	539, 540
Kahō‘ai‘ai (Kahōaiai)	Waiawa		229	306, 308-313, 315		
Kaihuokapua‘a (Kaihuokapuaa)	Waimano	208, 220		344	518	540
Kalauao	Kalauao					
Kaleinaaka‘uhane (Kaleinaakauhane)	Moanalua-Hālawa boundary zone					
Kalipāhe‘e	Waiawa					
Kaluaiwi (Kaluiwi) (Kaluiwi, Kaluawi)	‘Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone					541
Kalua‘ōlohe (Kaluaōlohe)	Waiau	213, 220	228	302, 305	519	
Kānehili	Honouliuli/Pu‘uloa					

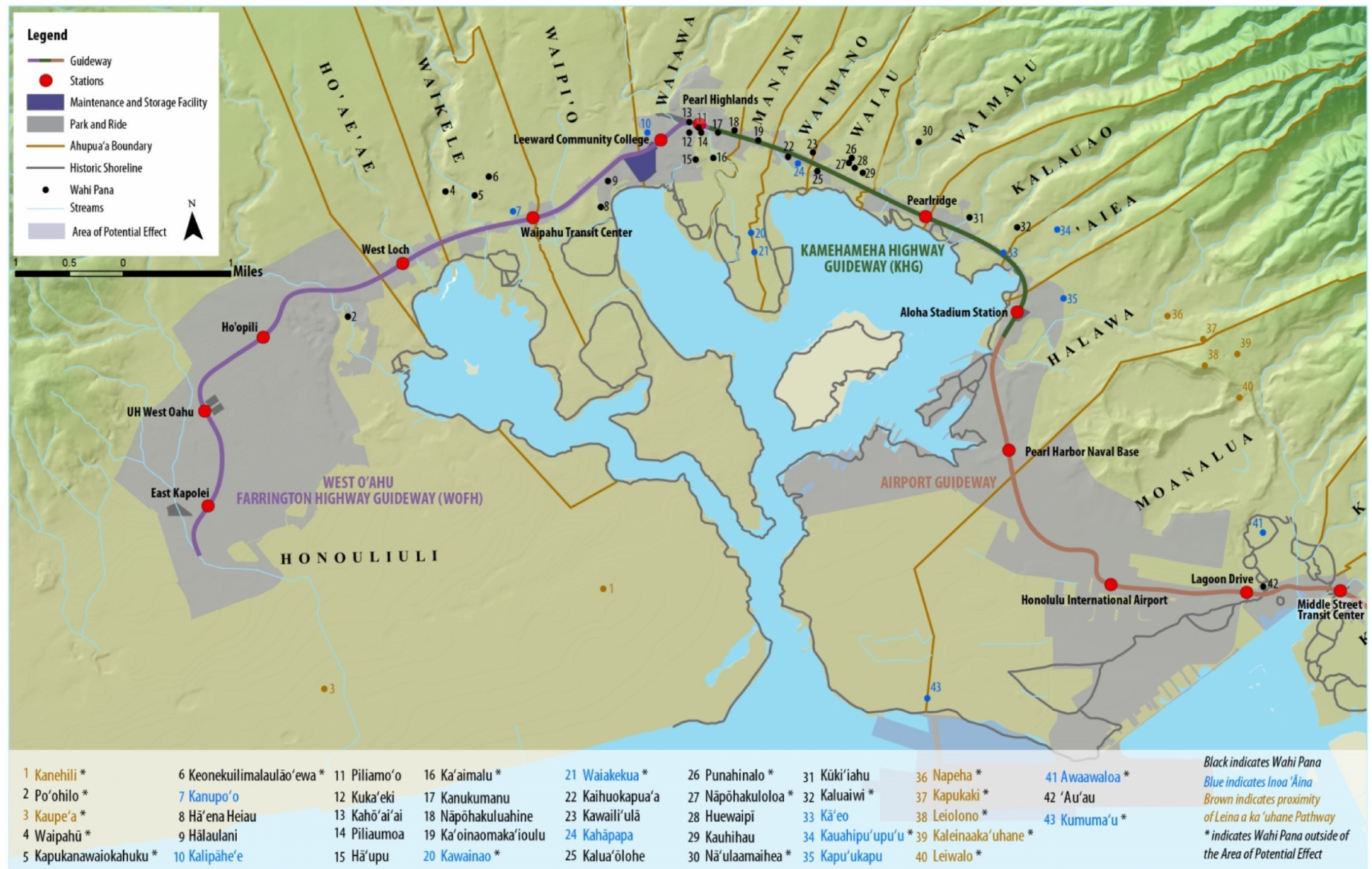
Inoa ‘Āina (Alternate spellings)	Ahupua‘a	Table 1. Disposition of Lands ... in the Buke Mahele p. 204-221	Table 2. Place Names from Māhele ‘Āina Records p. 225-231	Table 3. Māhele Claims by Ahupua‘a and Helu p. 244-379	Table 4. Grants Issues ... ‘Ewa District p. 516-520	Table 5. Place Names ... the Boundary Commission p. 539-542
Kanukumanu, Kanukuokamanu (<i>Kanukuokamanu</i>)	Waiawa					
Kanupo‘o (<i>Kanupoo</i>)	Waikele	219	229	320, 327, 328, 334	516	539
Ka‘oinaomaka‘ioulū (<i>Kaoinaomaka‘ioulū</i> , <i>Kaoinaomakaoulū</i>)	Mānana					
Kapukakī (<i>Keka‘anī‘auokapukakī</i>)	Moanalua-Hālawā		227			542
Kapukanawaiokahuku	Waikele					
Kapu‘ukapu (<i>Kapuukapu</i> , <i>Kapukapu</i>)	‘Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone					541
Kauahipu‘upu‘u (<i>Kauahipupu</i>)	‘Aiea-Kalauao boundary zone					541
Kauhihau	Waiau	216	228	302, 304		
Kaupe‘a (<i>Kaupea</i>)	Honouliuli					
Kawaili‘ulā (Waili‘ulā) (<i>Kawailiula</i> , <i>Waili‘ulā</i>)	Waiau-Waimano					
Kawainao	Waimano-Mānana boundary zone					540
Keonekuilimalaulāo‘ewa (<i>Keonekuilimalaulāoewa</i>)	Waikele		229	318		
Kuka‘eki	Waiawa					
Kūki‘īahu (Kūki‘ī) (<i>Kūki‘ī</i> , <i>Kūkīahu</i> , <i>Kūki‘ī‘ahu</i>)	Kalauao		227	281, 282, 288, 289, 333		541
Kumuma‘u (<i>Kumumau</i>)	Moanalua-Kalihi boundary zone		231	379		542
Leiolono (Leilono/Leinono) (<i>Leilono</i> , <i>Leinono</i>)	Moanalua					
Leiwalo (‘Uluoleiwalo) (<i>‘Uluoleiwalo</i> , <i>Uluoleiwalo</i>)	Moanalua					

Inoa ‘Āina (Alternate spellings)	Ahupua‘a	Table 1. Disposition of Lands ... in the Buke Mahele p. 204-221	Table 2. Place Names from Māhele ‘Āina Records p. 225-231	Table 3. Māhele Claims by Ahupua‘a and Helu p. 244-379	Table 4. Grants Issues ... ‘Ewa District p. 516-520	Table 5. Place Names ... the Boundary Commission p. 539-542
Mānana (Mānana iki & Mānana nui)	Mānana (Mānana iki & Mānana nui)					
Moanalua	Moanalua					
Nāpēhā	Hālawa					
Nāpōhakuloloa	Waiau					
Nāpōhakuluahine	Waiawa					
Nā‘ulaamaihea (also written “Nauluamaihea”) (Nauluamaihea)	Waimalu					
Piliamo‘o (Piliamoo)	Waiawa			347		
Piliaumoa	Waiawa		229	310, 311		
Po‘ohilo (Po‘o-Hilo, Poohilo)	Honouliuli		227	260-264, 266, 268-273		
Punahinalo (Punanalo) (Punanalo, Punahinanalolo)	Waimalu					
Waiakekua	Mānana-Waimano boundary zone					540
Waiau	Waiau					
Waiawa	Waiawa					
Waikele	Waikele					
Waimalu	Waimalu					
Waimānalo	Honouliuli		227	265 , 273		539
Waipāhū	Waikele	207, 221	229	318, 319, 323, 324	516	539
Waipi‘o	Waipi‘o					

Appendix D

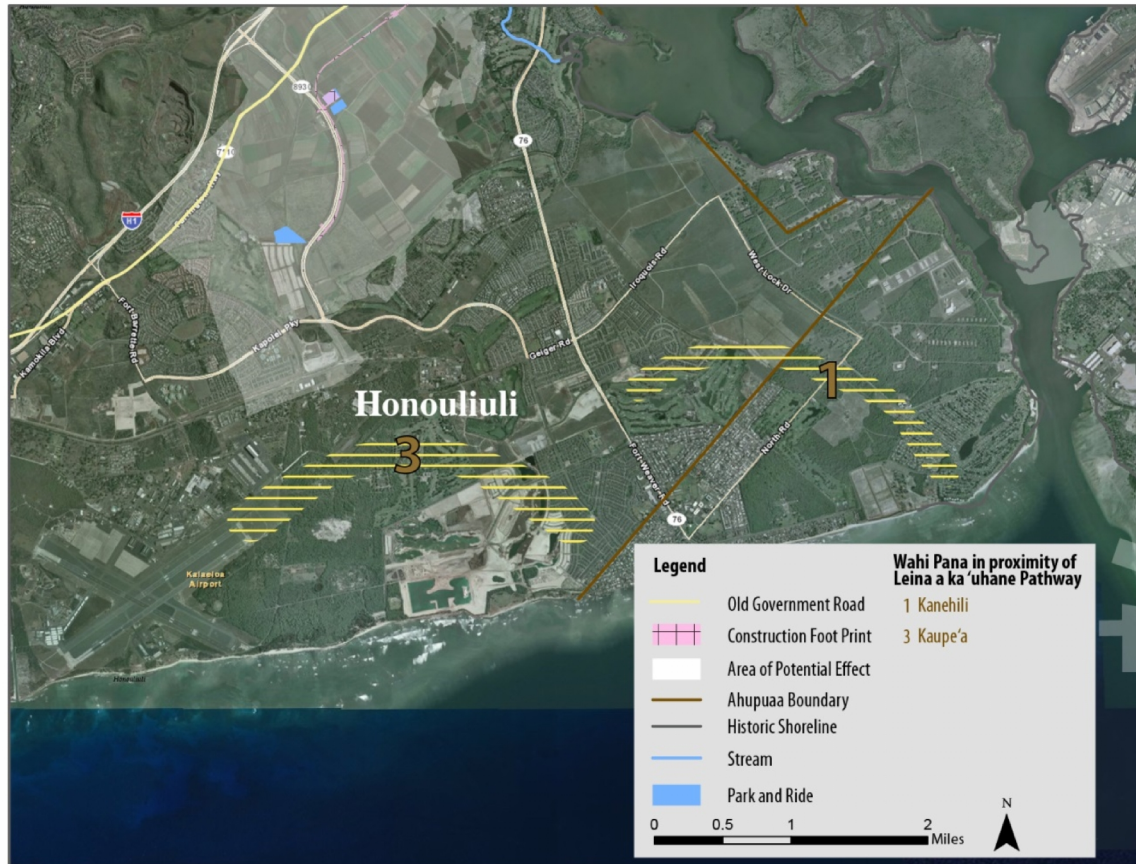
Base Map of the Project Area Showing the Location of Wahi Pana and Inoa 'Āina in Proximity to the Proposed Transit Facilities

Appendix D: Base Map of Sections 1-3 Showing the Location of Wahi Pana and Inoa 'Āina in Proximity to the Project Area

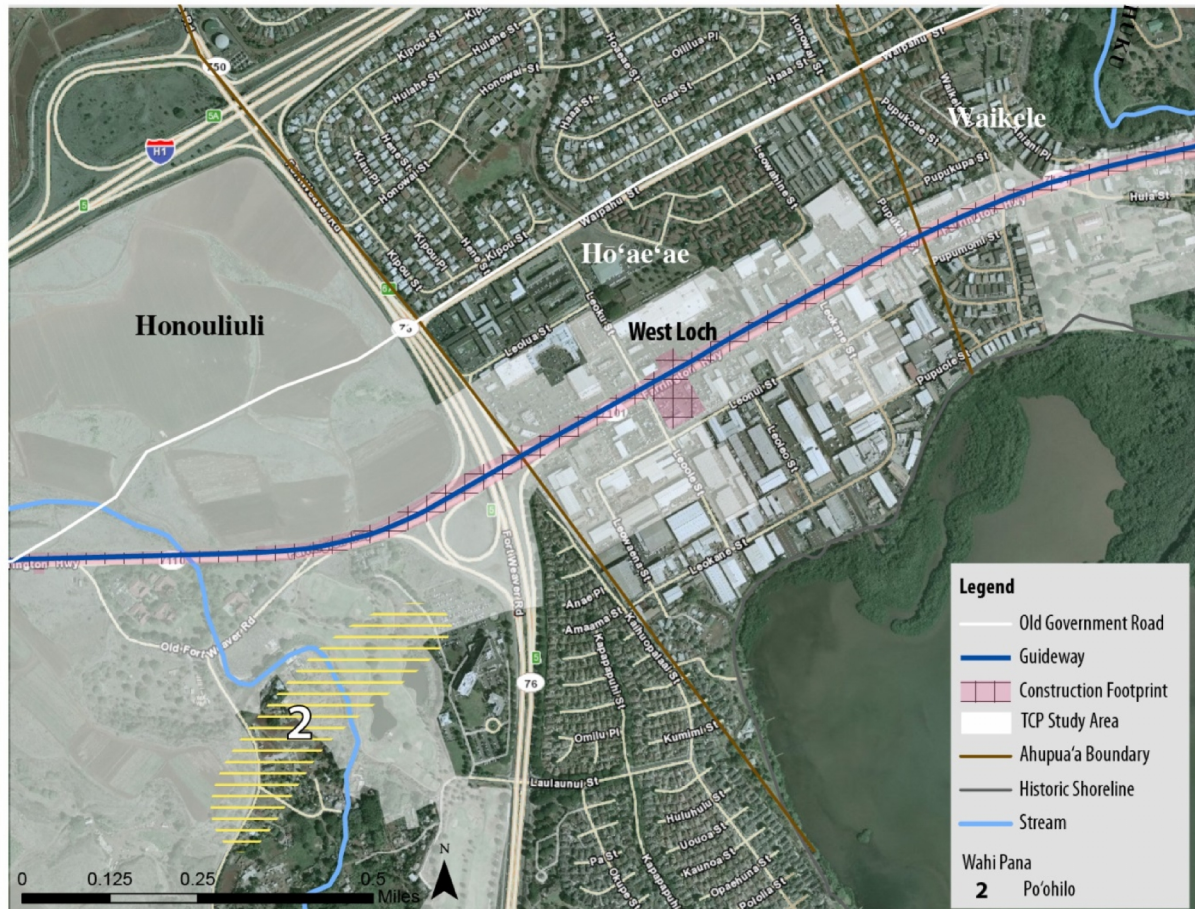


Appendix E
Close Up Maps of the Project Area Showing the
Location of Wahi Pana and Inoa 'Āina in Proximity to
the Proposed Transit Facilities

Appendix E-1: Wahi Pana Associated with the Leina a ka 'uhane in Proximity to the Proposed East Kapolei Station

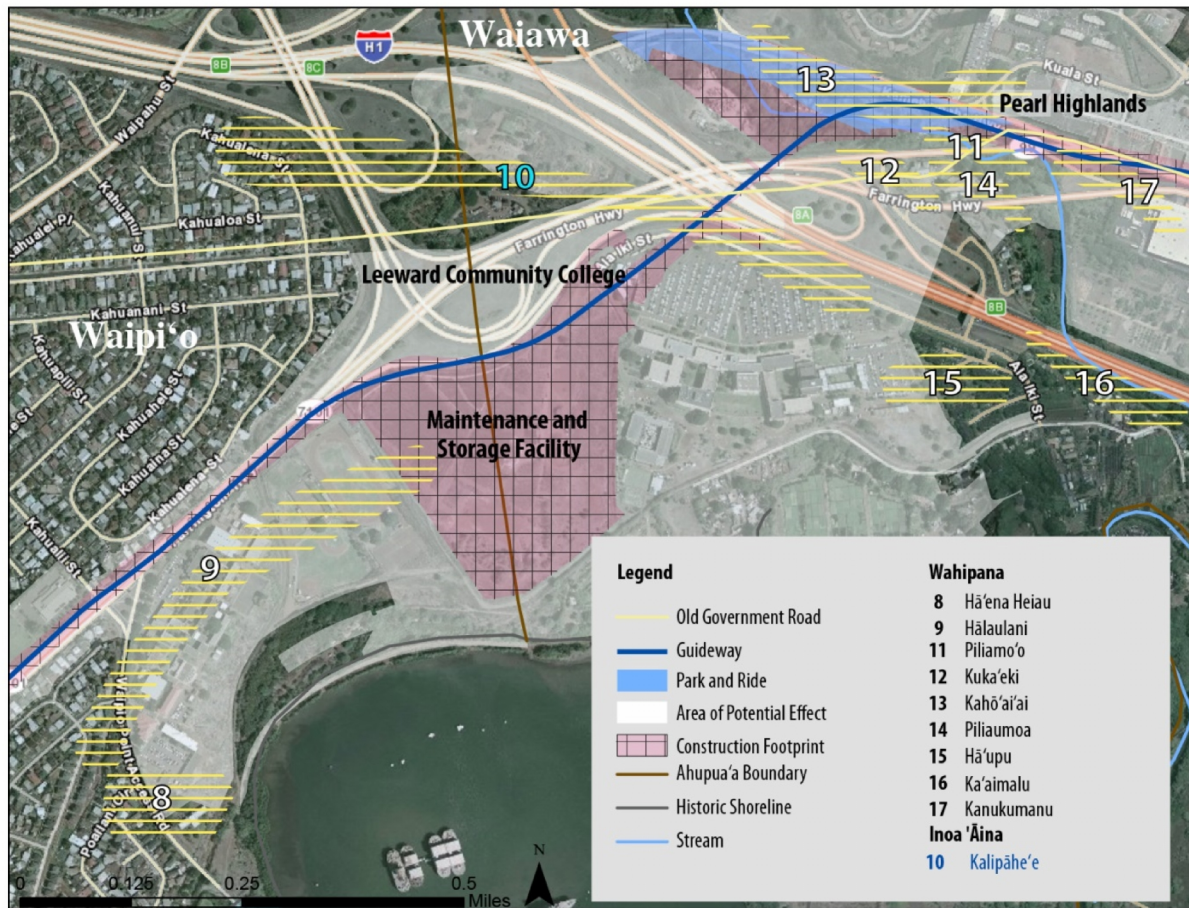


Appendix E-2: Wahi Pana in Proximity to the Proposed West Lock Station

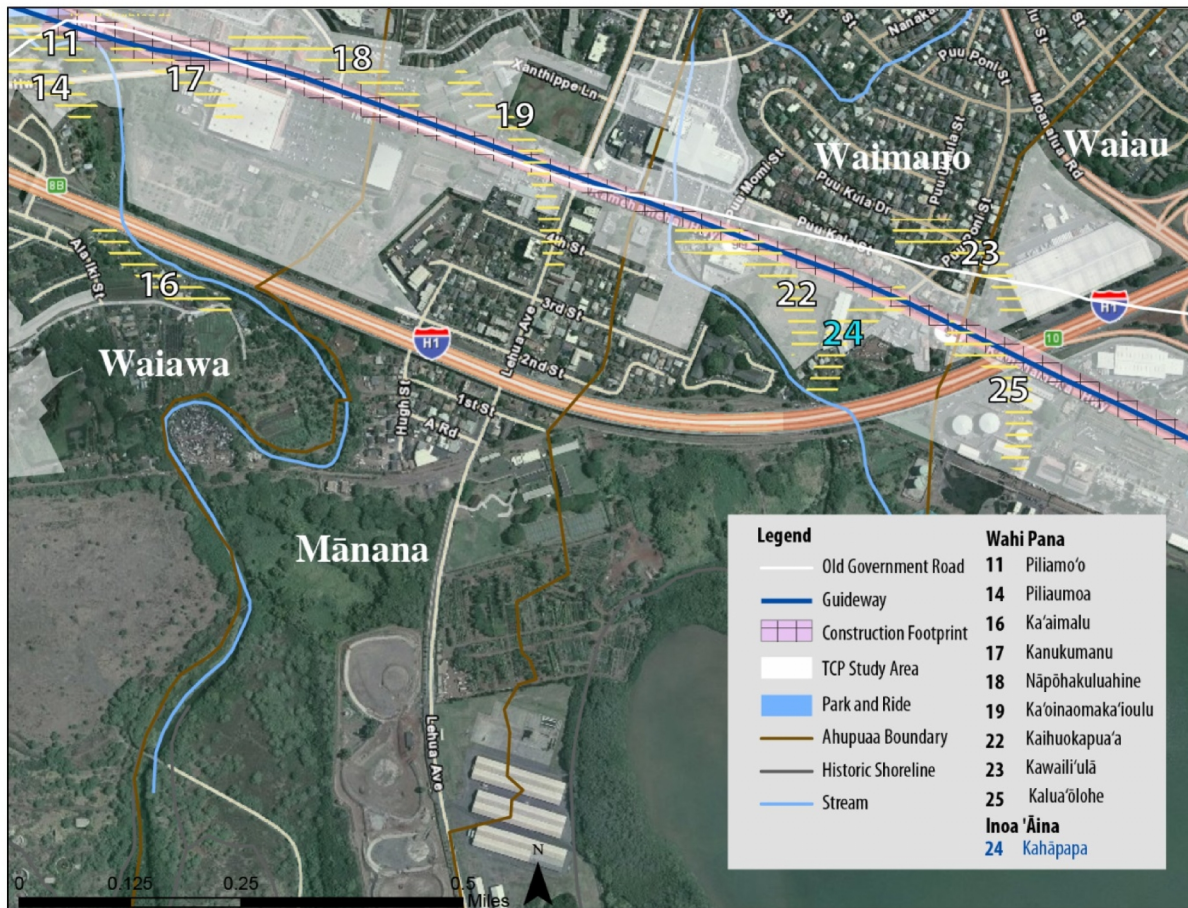




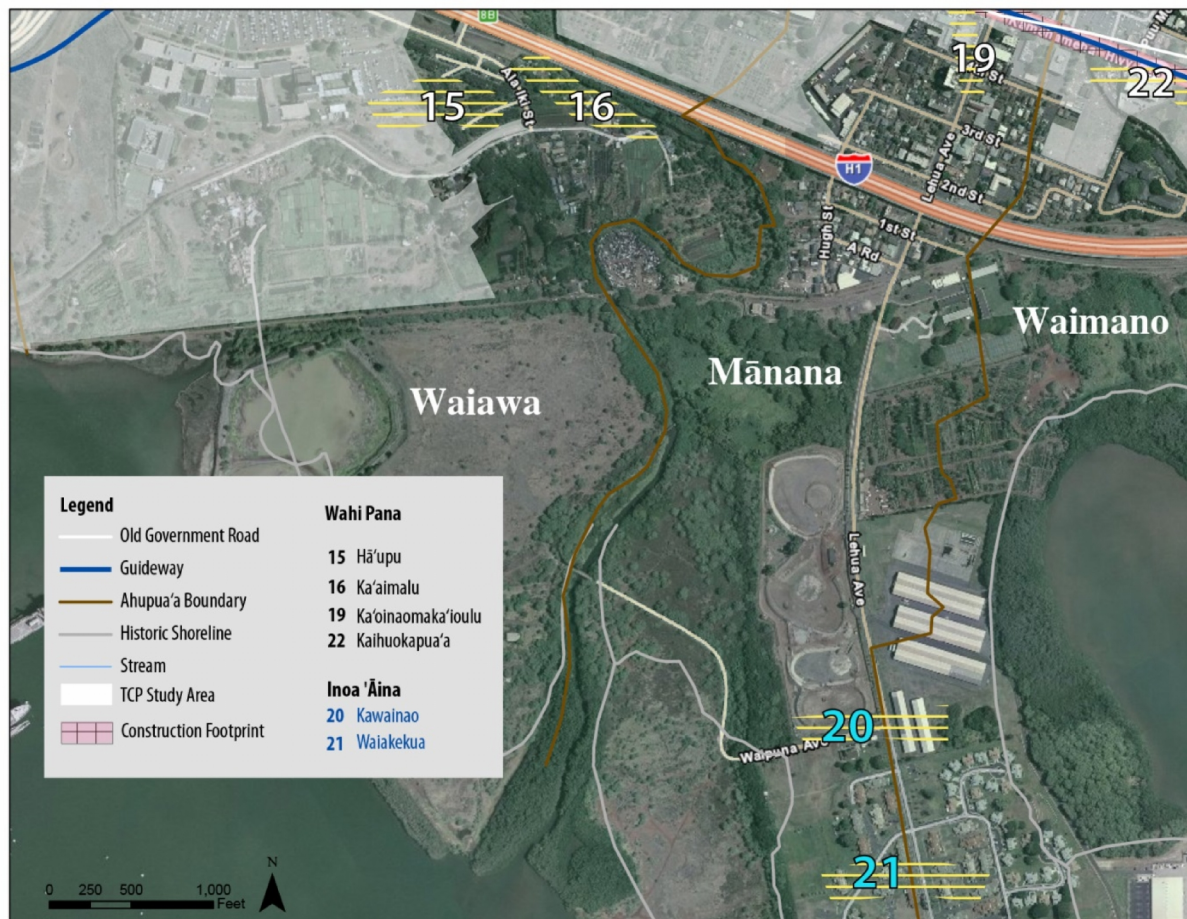
Appendix E-4: Wahi Pana and Inoa 'Āina in Proximity to the Proposed Leeward Community College and Pearl Highland Stations



Appendix E-5: Wahi Pana and Inoa 'Āina East of the Proposed Pearl Highlands Station



Appendix E-6: Wahi Pana and Inoa 'Āina South of the Proposed Pearl Highlands Station



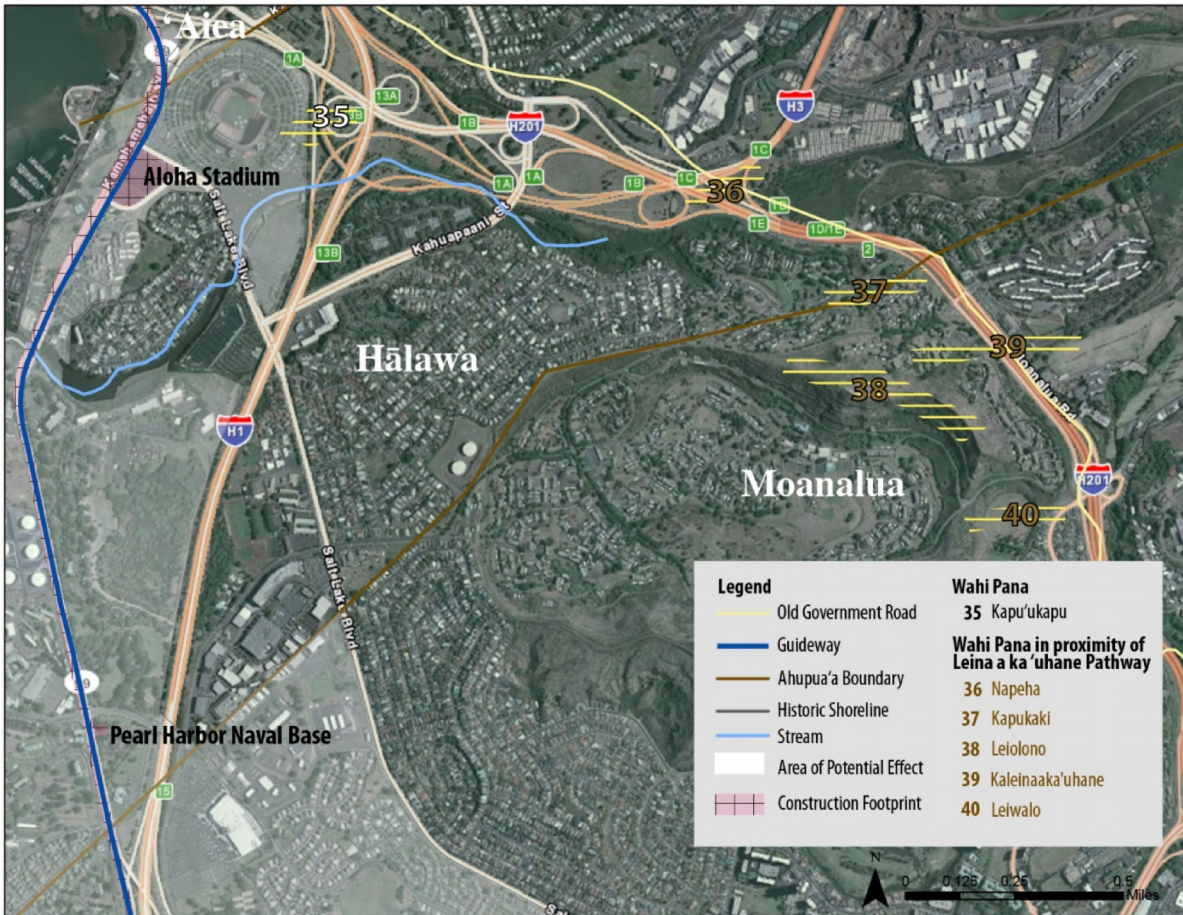
Appendix E-7: Wahi Pana in Proximity to the Proposed Pearlridge Station



Appendix E-9: Inoa 'Āina in Proximity to the Proposed Honolulu International Airport Station



Appendix E-10: Wahi Pana Associated with the Leina a ka 'uhane in Proximity to the Proposed Aloha Stadium and Pearl Harbor Naval Base Stations



Appendix E-11: Wahi Pana and Inoa 'Āina in Proximity to the Proposed Lagoon Drive Station and the Middle Street Transit Center

